

THE AMERICAN MONTHLY Illustrated REVIEW OF REVIEWS¹⁹⁰⁰

Edited by ALBERT SHAW

November

Election Month and Election Topics.

How the Republicans Work
for Votes. With pictures.

By a Headquarters Observer.

Managing the Democratic
Campaign. Illustrated.

By Willis J. Abbot.

The Campaign in Caricature.

In the Departments:

The Election of 1896: A Comparison—The Ebbings of the Free-Silver Tide—Dixie as a Political Anomaly—Local Politics as a Factor—Tammany as an Example—The “Trusts” as a Fresh Issue—Concerning Cabinet Advisers—Mr. Bryan as an Autocrat—The Truth About Mark Hanna.

The British and Canadian Elections:

1. The British Czar: The General Elector. By W. T. Stead.
2. In “The Progress of the World”:

A Quick Campaign in England—The Expected and Necessary Result—The Future of the Boers—Mr. Chamberlain and His Office—The Kaffirs, Mr. Rhodes, etc.—What if the Tories Had Been Beaten?—The Future of English Liberalism.

3. Various “Leading Articles” from the English reviews.

The Great Growth of Trusts in England. By Robert Donald.

Political Beginnings in Porto Rico. By John Finley.

The Hall of Fame for Great Americans.

By Chancellor MacCracken, of New York University.

The American Negro at Paris. By W. E. Burghardt Du Bois.

Portraits of the late John Sherman and Charles Dudley Warner are among the numerous and timely illustrations of this number.

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THE AMERICAN MONTHLY REVIEW OF REVIEWS.

EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW.

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SCENE AT MR. CROKER'S BANQUET TO THE DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATES, NEW YORK CITY, OCTOBER 16, 1900.

In the middle of the standing row, and directly under Mr. Bryan's portrait, is Mayor Van Wyck, of New York City—the man with black hair and mustache. On Van Wyck's right is Mr. Bryan, and on his left Mr. Stevenson, candidate for Vice-President. On Mr. Croker's right is Mr. Richard Croker. On the left of Mr. Stevenson is William R. Hearst, proprietor of the *New York Journal*, beyond whom is Mr. Webster Davis.



THE AMERICAN MONTHLY

Review of Reviews.

VOL. XXII.

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NO. 5.

THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD.

The Election of 1896—a Comparison. In 1896, Mr. McKinley received 271 electoral votes, and Mr. Bryan received 176. The strength of the Bryan ticket came from two distinct sources. First, from a group of Western States in which the greater part of the population, regardless of previous political affiliations, was carried away by the free-silver doctrine. The other and principal element of Mr. Bryan's strength in 1896 was the vote of the Southern States, where for many years party divisions, such as exist in the North, have not been known, and where the Democratic ticket prevails irrespective of issues or candidates. It is well worth while to compare the conditions of the campaign of 1896 with those of the campaign of 1900, in order to see what significance is really to be attached to the results of the voting this year. Although the silver movement was not indigenous to the South, the doctrine had been propagated with success; so that four years ago, the States which contributed most of the Democratic electoral votes were willing enough to let the Democratic party stand for the scheme of opening the mints to the free coinage of silver. The silver movement was so aggressive that it forced the fighting, identified itself absolutely with the Democratic party, and compelled the Republican party to identify itself with the gold standard. If Mr. Bryan had been elected, it would have been with the unmistakable mandate from those who voted for him to do all in his power to place the business of the country upon a silver basis. Of the votes cast in that year, McKinley electors received a little more than 7,100,000, and Bryan electors a little more than 6,500,000 votes.

The Ebbing of the Free-Silver Tide. Organization began at once after Mr. Bryan's defeat, with the plan and purpose of renominating him in 1900, and of maintaining the fusion of the Populists and Silver Republicans with the Democrats. This work was so well managed that it resulted in Mr. Bryan's renomination this year on a sil-

ver platform, in spite of the fact that the people of the country were not thinking or talking about free silver, and were much more interested in questions growing out of new conditions. The free-silver movement was born of a period of hard times which the West and South were feeling with special severity. In such times the arguments for cheap money are always tempting to individuals or communities that are on the verge of bankruptcy. This year's campaign has come after several years of great prosperity, as compared with the years preceding the campaign of 1896. When communities have been highly prosperous for a long enough time to reestablish the equilibrium as respects other communities, they have no longer any particular temptation, either intellectual or moral, to desire cheap money. It happens that such a balance has been restored between the different parts of this country; and so the money question has lost its sectional aspect. The free-silver clause went into the Kansas City platform not so much because it represented present convictions as because it seemed so extremely embarrassing to drop an issue that had only lately been declared by the Democrats to be of vastly greater importance than all others.

Silver and the South. That is, if we had not had a silver question four years ago, we should certainly not have had a silver question this year. Political leaders and political parties have an idea of the need of consistency that is quite mistaken, and that often stands very much in the way of their success. One of the curiosities of what is, by all odds, the most curious political situation that ever existed in the United States is to be found in the fact that the only profoundly important thing for which Mr. Bryan stands is the immediate and unlimited free coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1; and everybody knows that, if he is elected, he will do his best to bring about this result. Yet there has been no evidence in the campaign of any enthusiasm whatever in favor of free coinage. When

compared with the immense difference between the Republican and Democratic platforms on the money question, and the vital bearings of that subject, the difference between the Bryan Philippine policy and the McKinley Philippine policy amounts to nothing more than splitting hairs over trifles. The group of Southern States that always goes Democratic will, as a matter of course, vote for Mr. Bryan this year; but it ought to be remembered by all who wish to understand the political situation that these same States would all vote for Mr. Bryan by practically the same majorities—perhaps even by larger ones—if he had changed his money views altogether, and had become an advocate of the single gold standard. There is, indeed, reason to think that Mr. Bryan would be stronger in the South on a gold ticket than on a silver ticket. The free-silver doctrine had never sunk very deeply into Southern convictions—outside, perhaps, of Missouri; and the South in general wants stable business conditions, and has no objection at all to doing business on the monetary basis that the rest of the world finds, upon the whole, to be workable and convenient. It will take some Democratic politicians a little time to readjust themselves; but the business sentiment of the South is no longer concerned on behalf of the Bryan monetary doctrines, and the politicians will soon accept the business view.

Silver In Kan-
sas, Nebraska, that are Demo-
and Dakota. Apart from those States in the South
for traditional reasons, no States except Nebraska and Kansas, and a few in the Far West, gave their electoral votes four years ago for Bryan and free silver. Bryan carried Nebraska by a plurality of 13,576 out of an aggregate vote of about 220,000. A change of less than 7,000 votes would have given the State to McKinley. This year, if the money question alone were under consideration, Nebraska would probably go against free silver by a considerable majority. The Republicans have been making special efforts to regain the State, with growing hopes of success as the campaign has progressed. Even Kansas, with its inclination toward Populism and politi-

cal extremes, gave Bryan in 1896 a plurality of only 12,269 out of a total vote of more than 330,000. Kansas has since had several large crops with good prices, and no longer craves relief of the kind that free silver has been supposed to afford indebted and depressed communities. The Republicans last month were quite confidently expecting to carry Kansas for McKinley and Roosevelt by a good majority. Four years ago, North Dakota gave McKinley a plurality of 5,649 out of a total vote of about 47,000; and South Dakota, although its vote went to Mr. Bryan, was almost tied, he receiving 41,225 and his opponent 41,042.

In Colorado and the Mountain States. Colorado, at one time a safely Republican State, went almost en masse for Bryan four years ago. The most

important industry of Colorado had been the production of silver, and the State expected to profit greatly by the triumph of free coinage. There were cast 161,153 votes for Bryan and only 26,271 for McKinley. Nowhere else was the silver question taken so much to heart as in Colorado; and nothing, therefore, could be a better indication of the change in the sentiment of the country on that question than the fact that Colorado last month was regarded by the Republicans as belonging at least in the doubtful column. Earlier in the campaign it was supposed to be, as a matter of course, for Bryan; but the result promises to be comparatively close.



FOUR YEARS AGO.

Lest we forget what a Presidential campaign really is like.

From the *Evening News* (Detroit).

Utah, also a great silver-producing State, gave Bryan 64,517 votes and McKinley only 13,484. There will be nothing like that disparity in this year's result. Montana gave Bryan 42,537 and McKinley only 10,494; this also being due to the fact that Montana, like Utah and Colorado, is a great silver-producing State. But the silver question is not absorbing the attention of Montana this year, and no one regards the situation as hopelessly one-sided. Nevada, a State which in the past has been almost exclusively identified with the industry of silver-mining, gave 8,377 votes for Bryan and only 1,938 for McKinley; but, as an indication of the change of the political tide even in Nevada, it is to be noted that Senator Stewart, one of the chief

gave its vote to McKinley, though by a small plurality; and the same thing is true of California, where, indeed, the voting was so close that for some reason one Republican on the electoral ticket was defeated. This year the Republicans expect to carry Oregon and California by greatly increased pluralities.

Silver In the Campaign at the Missouri River carried by McLarge.

Kinley four years ago and vigorously contested by the Democrats this year,—such as Minnesota, Wisconsin, Indiana, Ohio, and New York,—is there any reason to think that the silver plank in the platform is a source of strength to the party. And if any of these States should give its electoral vote to Bryan this year, it would be in spite of the silver plank rather than on account of it. Even the Populist element of Mr. Bryan's support would not have deserted him had free silver been omitted from the Kansas City platform;—for the Populists are, after all, not in favor of any metallic basis whatever for the country's monetary issues; and, so far as their theories go, they are just as much opposed to Democratic bimetallism as to the Republican single standard. They do not like the existing national-bank system, with its circulating note issues; they believe, rather, in paper money issued on Government credit. It is not, therefore, so much Bryan's money views that hold the Populists as his opposition in a general way to the party that is now identified more than any other with the things that they condemn. To sum up the analysis of this year's situation as compared with that of four years ago, it may be said that, even should Mr. Bryan be elected on the Kansas City platform, it would still be true that the campaign has not developed much of the intense zeal for silver that was shown four years ago, when a Bryan victory could have meant nothing but free silver.



TWO REPUBLICAN PORTRAITS OF SENATOR STEWART.

From the *Chronicle* (Chicago).

founders of the free-silver movement as such in this country, who supported Bryan with all his energies four years ago, is now working against Bryan with equal energy and supporting the Republican ticket. Wyoming four years ago gave its three electoral votes to Bryan by a plurality of only 583 votes.

Washington cast 51,646 for Bryan
On the Pacific Coast. and 39,153 for McKinley. The tide of Populistic tendency is no longer so high in Washington, and Republicanism seems to be in the ascendent again. Oregon four years ago

How Bryan's Election Would Revive Silver.

It does not follow, however, that Mr. Bryan's election would not result in bringing the silver question to the front again. It is highly probable that it would have just that effect. The more persistent of the free-silver theorists would join with many people directly interested in the silver-mining business in an endeavor to resuscitate the "lost cause;" and Mr. Bryan himself could not do otherwise than promote that cause with all his power. He would, of course, name a free-silver secretary of the treasury and a free-silver controller of the currency. A certain class of Bryan voters in the South and West would bring pressure to bear upon their Democratic Congressmen to keep

them in line for silver. The agitation thus immediately set on foot would be likely to frighten capitalists, and greatly disturb credit conditions, at a time when the unprecedented expansion of all sorts of business has made it dangerous to have confidence thus suddenly destroyed. The curtailment of credits would lead to many failures, and these first failures would be the cause of many subsequent ones. There would, probably, ensue a panic of the most violent sort; and this would have the usual sequel of a prolonged period of depression and hard times. Hitherto, such a period of hard times has invariably led, in the United States, to a demand for money inflation on one plan or another; and the cheap-silver dollar would undoubtedly be the method of inflation that would now come into fresh demand. Thus the election of a strong-willed free-silver candidate for the Presidency in a period of prosperous times, when the country, for all practical purposes, is well enough satisfied with the existing sound-money basis, would almost inevitably result in a new agitation which in its turn would produce those conditions of doubt and fear that breed panic in times of extended credit, with resulting bad times and a new demand on the part of many victims of the collapse for cheap money in the form of free silver. The pretense of some of the Eastern sound-money men, who are supporting him on other grounds, that the present Congress can fix the law in such a way that Mr. Bryan could not break down the gold standard, wholly misses what is really the vital

point. The thing to be concerned about is not so much what Mr. Bryan might or might not do in the executive office as the way in which his election would react, first, upon business conditions; and, second, upon the political resurrection of a question that ought not to be brought up again for many years.

Two Notes for the Future Student. There should be put on record, for the benefit of the future historian of this political season, the undeniable fact that the country as a whole had become so well reconciled to the decision on the money question, as made in 1896, that if David B. Hill and the others who urged the omission of the silver plank had prevailed at Kansas City the free-silver phase of the money question would have dropped out of American politics. Another fact is, that a great many shrewd and sagacious Democratic politicians, who are thoroughly opposed to free silver, have all along been of opinion that Republican success was inevitable this year, and have thought it well to put the Chicago candidate and the Chicago platform in the field in order to have Bryanism finally disposed of. These Democrats are saving their own party regularity in order to be on hand to take the lead in a conservative reorganization of the party.

A Three-Cornered Situation that Might Have Been. It is interesting to imagine a situation that might easily have existed this year, and that would have illustrated, better than anything else, the real political sentiment of the country. The first of the important political conventions was that of the Populists, held at Sioux Falls, South Dakota, in May. That convention unanimously nominated Mr. Bryan for the Presidency, with the full understanding that he would accept the nomination. When the Democratic convention met at Kansas City on July 4, it was discovered that a majority of the delegates was in favor of dropping the silver question, but that Mr. Bryan insisted upon having the silver plank in the platform, if he was to be the candidate. Earlier in the year, it will be remembered, there was some talk of Admiral Dewey as the Democratic candidate; and the gallant admiral was himself willing enough. There had been a time still earlier—when Admiral Dewey was on his way home from Manila—when it might have been easy enough to have made his nomination by the Democrats a certainty, if he had then been willing to entertain the idea. It was as a somewhat late afterthought that the Democrats took up “anti-imperialism” as a party cry. At the time when they were seeking to secure Dewey as a candidate, they were enthusiastic for keeping



“Alchemists may doubt
The shining gold their crucibles give out,
But faith, fanatic faith once wedded fast
To some dear falsehood, hugs it to the last.”—Moore.
From the *Journal* (Detroit).

the Philippines, and were disposed to rename them the "Dewey Isles," in case that bold mariner should confess himself a Democrat and put himself in the hands of his friends. There is absolutely no reason, in the nature of things, why the Democrats this year are on one side of the annexation question and the Republicans on the other. A very slight change of circumstances might have reversed the Democratic position. Let us imagine, then, that the Kansas City convention had followed its best judgment and dropped the silver issue as obsolete, then taken up Dewey as its candidate, and, following its natural instinct, made the most of Dewey's achievement in acquiring the Philippine Islands for the United States. We should thus have had three conspicuous tickets in the field.

Where Would Bryan Have Come In?

Mr. Bryan would have been running, as now, on a pro-silver, pro-income-tax, anti-imperialism, anti-militarism, anti-trust platform. He would have had the nominations of the Populist party and the Silver-Republican party, with, presumably, that of a Silver-Democratic party made up of a bolt from the convention which nominated Dewey. The regular Democratic ticket, headed by Dewey, would have been supported on a platform rather ambiguous on the money question, but favoring sound money between the lines; and its principal indictment of the Republican administration would have been based, not upon the acquisition of the Philippines, but upon the alleged bungling and inefficiency which had prolonged the Philippine War. What then would have been the result on the 6th of November? The answer is plain. Dewey, representing in his own person both militarism and the policy of Philippine annexation, and standing also, undoubtedly, for sound money, the upholding of the courts, and many of the same ideas as those represented by Mr. Cleveland, would undoubtedly have carried every Southern State. McKinley and Roosevelt would have carried all the Northern States that Dewey had failed to carry. Mr. Bryan, on his free-silver and anti-imperialism platform, would not have carried a single State or won a single electoral vote; and this result would not have been due to any personal unpopularity of Mr. Bryan, but rather to his platform. Let us imagine, however, that his Populist supporters and Bryan himself had not entertained anti-annexation views, but had dwelt chiefly upon the silver question, the trust question, and the like. It would still be true that Bryan would not have won a single electoral vote, for the reason that the silver policy had lost its drawing power. Finally, let us suppose that Bryan had frankly dropped his advocacy of free silver in order

to accept the nomination of anti-imperialists, and had devoted himself to this so-called "paramount issue." It would still hold good that Bryan would not carry a single State or win a single electoral vote. The "Solid South" would vote for Dewey and the Democratic ticket, as representing a more aggressive kind of militarism and annexationism than that which the "halting opportunism" of McKinley had supported.

As Showing Southern Sentiment.

That the three tickets might have been in the field in just this way is not so improbable as to make it hard to imagine. If the campaign could, indeed, have shaped itself in such a fashion, the result would have shown clearly—first, that the free-silver question as such had no further hold on the public mind; and, second, that no considerable element in the community supposes for a moment that there is any such thing as American "imperialism" to combat, while no element of any great numerical strength would, if the issue were made distinct, vote in favor of taking the American flag down from any place where it now represents lawful sovereignty. This analysis of the situation is meant to make it the more clear to the reader that the Southern States, which will give Mr. Bryan most of the electoral votes that he will receive, are voting for him because he is the regular Democratic nominee, and not because their opinions are like his. Thus if ex-Senator Gray, of Delaware (now Judge Gray), the distinguished and accomplished Democrat who served as one of the American commissioners to negotiate the treaty of peace at Paris, and who favored the acquisition of the Philippines, had been nominated for the Presidency by the Democrats this year, the whole South would have supported him with the utmost enthusiasm, and would have found his views on expansion and annexation to be especially congenial to the way of thinking that really prevails south of Mason and Dixon's line.

"Dixie" as a Political Anomaly. The great anomaly in American politics is the position held by the group of Southern States that votes as a matter of course for Bryan, although McKinley better represents their political opinions. The South for many years has held a place in American politics analogous to that which Ireland holds in the politics of the United Kingdom. Throughout the greater part of Ireland there is, for all practical purposes, only one party—that of the Irish Nationalists. They feel that Irish interests compel them to stand together, and so they do not divide, to any great extent, into parties on the plan of England and Scotland.

Irish Nationalism represents a certain spirit of patriotism and a certain attitude of self-defense. In somewhat the same way, the solidity of the so-called "Solid South" in national politics has been due to a spirit of sectional patriotism and an attitude of self-defense. This is a matter of history and tradition. It has grown out of the war, and out of the political and racial questions which led up to the war and which have followed it. Since the Republicans of the North were politically responsible for the conquest of the Confederate States, the freeing of the slaves without compensation to their owners, and the enfranchisement of the freedmen as a condition of the readmission of the Southern States to the Union; and since the Republican party for a long time was identified with the policy of safeguarding the negro vote by federal bayonets,—it is not strange that the great bulk of the white population of the South should have allied itself politically with the Northern opponents of the Republican party. There seems to have been no other alternative.

A Better Outlook. It is an extremely difficult thing to eliminate the race question from our party politics. But it is to be noted that the Republicans of the North no longer talk of the federal regulation of elections, and that

they have looked on with comparatively little avowed disapproval at the action of the four States which have now, by constitutional amendment, practically disfranchised the greater part of their negro voters. If it were not for the race question and for the strength of the traditional prejudice of the South against the name "Republican," the white vote of the Southern States would divide naturally upon the real issues before the country; and it is likely that the points of view that Governor Roosevelt has presented in his remarkable stumping tour of the West would find even greater acceptance in the South than in Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and the Northwest. It is to be hoped that this peculiar condition in the South may come to an end in the near future. It is not a good condition for the South itself, and it is unfortunate and even dangerous for the rest of the country. For, while the North has heard the issues of the campaign thoroughly discussed, there are great regions of the South where the Republican party is practically non-existent; where a very light vote is cast, and where the election goes, as it were, by default. These regions will give their votes to Mr. Bryan without the slightest reference to the principles for which Mr. Bryan stands. He has been doing nothing whatever to gain their vote, yet he starts with it as a sure perquisite that goes with the Democratic nomination.



AN UNCONSTITUTIONAL INEQUALITY.

| Total vote for Congressmen, 1888. | Total vote for President, 1886. |
|--------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| Mississippi..... Minnesota..... | 28,000 240,000 |
| Mississippi..... Minnesota..... | 69,000 252,000 |

From the *Times* (Minneapolis).

A Curious Situation. It is this situation, more than anything else, that makes it so extremely difficult to know what would happen in case the Democratic party should come into full power. Eastern Democrats and some of their Southern colleagues in Congress would certainly be disposed to join a Republican minority against the sort of monetary legislation that Mr. Bryan would advocate. It is likely enough, also, that a good many Southern and Western members of Congress would join the Republican minority in opposing his policy of giving up the Philippines. It became more and more evident, as the campaign progressed, that there was no part of the country, North, South, East, or West, which was not prepared to acquiesce in the result,—and that very cheerfully, indeed,—in case of Mr. McKinley's re-election; and yet Mr. Bryan's friends seemed to be both sincere and intelligent in their claim, up to the last, that their candidate had a good chance of being elected. No situation quite like this has ever existed before in American politics; nor have we known anything like it in the political experience of any other country. If, then, Mr. Bryan should really be elected, the result would not be due principally to the fact that a prepon-



ANOTHER "PROVISO" CONTRACT.

From the *Tribune* (Minneapolis).

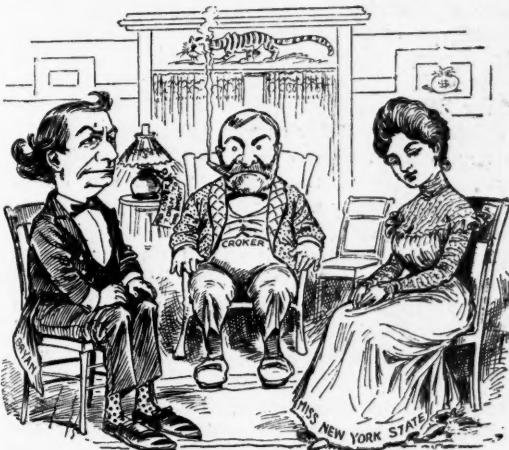
derant public opinion has accepted his views, but rather to the force of certain fixed factors which always give the Democratic party a large nucleus to begin with, irrespective of platform, candidates, and public opinion. The foremost of these fixed factors has already been mentioned. It is the anomalous condition of the Southern States, whose electoral vote belongs in any case to the Democratic nominee, no matter what doctrines and policy the ticket and platform may represent.

Local Politics as a Factor. The second great fixed factor is the strength and influence of party organization and machinery, and the fact that the President and Vice-President are not the only candidates to be voted for on November 6. On the contrary, there are Congressional campaigns in every part of the country, and elections for State officers in a very great majority of the States. Besides these are the county elections, the township elections, and in many States municipal and village elections. Assuming that there are something like 6,000,000 Democrats in the country who will have enough interest in politics to go to the polls this year, it is probable that there are at least 2,000,000 who are either active candidates for local offices on the Democratic ticket or are, in one way or another, closely interested for personal reasons in working for Democratic success. No matter how much general conditions may make for an "era of good feeling," and for a decline of the partisan spirit, it will still remain true that we have this great

ramification of party politicians extended through States, Congressional, and judicial districts, counties, townships, cities, towns, villages, wards, road districts, school districts, and voting precincts. And while in times of great stress, when public feeling runs high, there may not be enough tenacity in the mere organization itself to keep men in line,—as, for example, when the Republican party went to pieces in the Far-Western States four years ago, on account of the silver craze,—it is almost always the case, on the other hand, that where public opinion is not deeply stirred up, the strict party organization holds its normal strength. This, of course, is more true of the Democratic party than of the Republican, because the average Republican is rather more of an independent thinker and less of a party man than the average Democrat.

Tammany as an Example. Organization strength as a fixed factor in politics finds its most extreme illustration in that extraordinary society known as Tammany Hall—a society without a vestige of opinion or sentiment on any real political question, and connected with the Democratic party solely because it finds the connection a necessary and highly profitable one.

Mr. Croker, the head of Tammany Hall, has, next to Mr. Bryan himself, been by far the most conspicuous personage in the Democratic party during the present political season. It was Mr. Croker's control over the New York delegation at the Kansas City convention which prevented the silver plank from being stricken out of the platform; and it was Mr. Croker's control over the State Democratic Convention in



SUITOR BRYAN OBLIGED TO WOO MISS NEW YORK STATE WITH FATHER CROKER ALWAYS IN EVIDENCE.

From the *Times* (Minneapolis).

New York that prevented the nomination for governor of the Hon. Bird S. Coler. The power of Tammany Hall, with Mr. Croker as its absolute chief, has been augmented by the consolidation of the cities of New York and Brooklyn; and Tammany controls the annual collection and expenditure of a municipal income now amounting to about \$100,000,000. Besides its direct authority over a great army of voters who hold office subject to its pleasure, Tammany has close relations with contractors and large private corporations, so that it can provide "jobs" for other thousands of men willing to vote the Tammany ticket. Again, it has in its power thousands of saloons, each of which controls several votes. Thus Tammany Hall binds together, not by ties of disinterested and patriotic political conviction, but rather of private interest, something like half of all the voters who live in New York City—a city that has a greater voting population than any other city in the world.

A National Menace. If it were not for Tammany Hall, which is at bottom a conspiracy for private plunder rather than a legitimate organization for political purposes, there would not be the remotest chance this year for Mr. Bryan to obtain the electoral vote of the State of New York; and, without the electoral vote of the State of New York, there could be no reasonable chance of his carrying the country. It is simply a question whether or not the Republican majority of the State outside the limits of New York City will be overcome by the Tammany-Bryan vote that will be rolled up under Mr. Croker's leadership in the metropolis. Every principle and method that Mr. Bryan and his Western followers have professed most deeply to abhor finds embodiment in Tammany Hall; and yet Mr. Bryan's election is inconceivable without the Tammany vote. In every Presidential year the dangerous character of Tammany Hall becomes a question of national concern; for the electoral vote of the State of New York is so large that there is always a chance that the main result may turn upon it. With a solid South as an undisputed Democratic asset, and with



Courtesy of New York Journal.

TAMMANY'S RECEPTION TO MR. BRYAN, MADISON SQUARE GARDEN, OCTOBER 16.

Tammany Hall as another, the Democrats always enter a campaign hoping to add the electoral vote of the State of New York to the Southern vote, and then to elect their ticket by winning three or four of the so-called doubtful States like Indiana and Maryland.

*The
"Trusts"
as a
Fresh Issue.*

Four years ago, the sound-money movement in New York State assumed such strength, as against the free-silver doctrine, that it carried even the metropolis against Bryan, and gave McKinley the huge plurality of 268,500. As the campaign progressed this year, the Democrats avoided the silver question even more than at the beginning; and, generally speaking, they seemed to have found the Philippine issue unprofitable. Toward the middle of October they began to concentrate, to a marked extent, upon phases of the trust question and kindred matters in a way designed to stir up the prejudices of labor against capital. They sought to identify the Republican party with all that is objectionable in the rapid tendency toward the amalgamation of industries, and claimed for Mr. Bryan the position of the highest special authority on the whole subject of trusts—their causes, their development, and especially the means by which they are to be destroyed or rendered harmless. This was the favorite theme of Mr. Bryan's many speeches in the State of New York in the middle of last month.

*Mr. Bryan
as the
Paragon of
Statesmanship.* It has hurt rather than helped Mr. Bryan to have so much claimed for him in the way of preëminent statesmanship. Up to four years and four months ago, he was a promising and estimable young Nebraskan lawyer, politician, and public man, little known to the country at large, and not at all known as a foremost authority. But in this brief



THE ONLY CURE.—From the *Verdict* (New York).

period he has been brought forward, successively, as the highest authority in this country on three subjects of vast importance. First, he has been declared supremely wise with respect to matters of monetary science and policy, including banking systems and the various departments of public finance. Second, the country has been asked to accept his leadership as the man best qualified to deal with the results of the Spanish War, to save us from the dangers of militarism and imperialism, and to apply rightfully the Constitution and the principles of the Declaration of Independence to our new territorial problems. In the third place, Mr. Bryan has been confidently placed before the American people as the man best qualified to deal with a question far more difficult than either of those other two great problems—namely, the true economic and political treatment of the present colossal movement in the direction of the concentration of productive capital. There are other questions of no small degree of importance concerning which it is claimed that Mr. Bryan is an authority of the first rank, in knowledge and statesmanship. One

of these is the general subject of taxation; and Mr. Bryan comes forward as the earnest advocate of a national income tax, with pronounced views on the reconstruction of the tariff and the internal-revenue system. Upon the very delicate subject of the foreign relations of the United States, Mr. Bryan is also set in the forefront as the man whose lead the people should implicitly follow. Thus he antagonizes the exceptionally pleasant relations that have existed between our Government and that of England during the last three years, and holds that we should have acted in some manner different from that which we have actually pursued toward the struggle in South Africa. He has been doing everything in his power to stir up the nationality prejudices of voters of Irish and German descent, together with those of other nationalities, on the ground that Mr. McKinley has placed the government of the United States on unduly friendly terms with a country that Irishmen in Ireland and Germans in Germany at present very much dislike. The following cartoon, published in Mr. Bryan's interest, represents the point of view that Democrats were expressing last month. It is intended to convey the impression of a close understanding between President McKinley and Lord Salisbury.



FRIENDS AND ALLIES.

THE PRESIDENT: "Congratulations, my Lord. Your policy in South Africa has been nobly vindicated."

LORD SALISBURY: "Many thanks, Mr. President. Hope you will do as well in November."

From the *Times* (Washington).

A Unique Instance. It has not been of advantage to Mr. Bryan's reputation that he has been heralded as the one man in the United

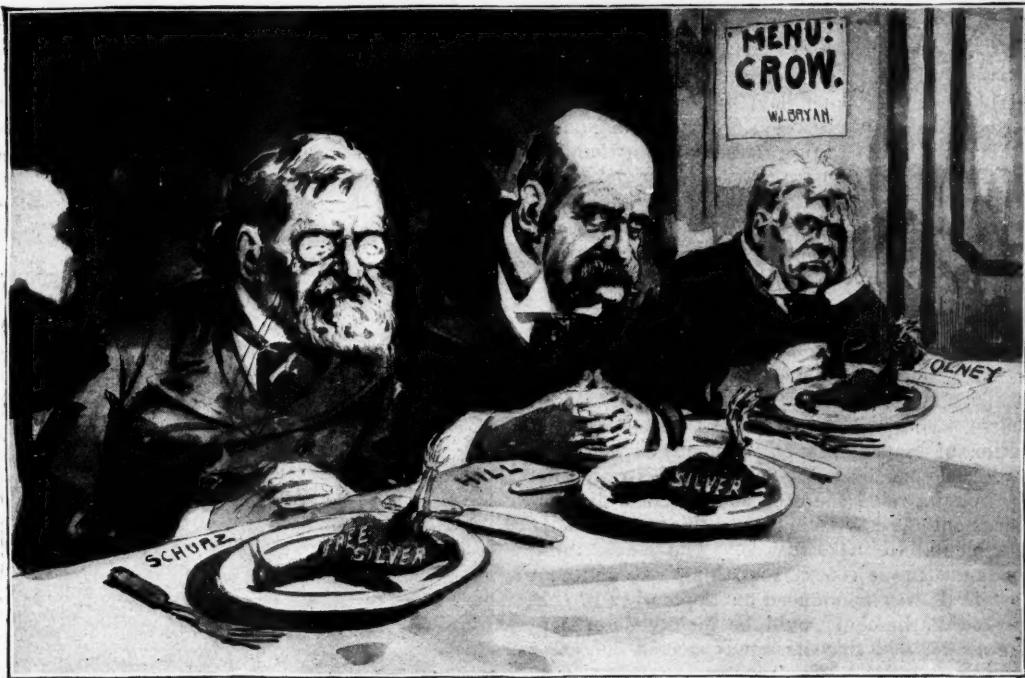
States who knows most about the money question; most about what to do with the Philippines, and how to manage the army and navy; most about the intricate subject of trusts and great corporations; most about the manifold problems of taxation, and most about diplomacy and international law, relationships, and policy. It gives one the feeling that if some other huge question, no matter what, should suddenly loom into unexpected prominence, Mr. Bryan would just as confidently be named as the only man who has always known all about it. Even in the case of statesmen like Gladstone and Bismarck,—preéminent in the eyes of the whole world for half a century,—expert knowledge on all subjects has never been looked for. And in the United States no great political party has ever before brought forward a man who alone, exclusively, in his own person, represented the party's wisdom on all leading subjects. Washington relied on Hamilton for wisdom in questions of taxation and finance, and on men like Jefferson and Jay as authorities in matters of foreign policy. Mr. Lincoln had his Seward, Chases, and Stantons. Mr. McKinley's statesmanship has been shown in the sagacity and good judgment that knows how, when, and where to take and apply expert counsel rather than in his own preéminent and solitary possession of superior statesmanship in half a dozen different fields. But Mr. Bryan stands out alone, and unrelieved, as the one Democratic authority on all the questions of the day.

As to Cabinet Advisers. Who of his conspicuous supporters, for instance, are, in case of his election, to be his main reliances when he comes to deal with the question of trusts? Surely not the three great lawyers of cabinet rank and national fame who have come most vigorously to his support in the campaign—namely, the Hon. Richard Olney, of Boston; the Hon. Edward M. Shepard, of New York (who presided at the great Bryan meeting of October 16), and the Hon. Bourke Cockran. These three men, any of whom might well be expected to go into Mr. Bryan's cabinet, are all of them diametrically opposed to his views on the subject of trusts, and are all reputed to be corporation lawyers of large practice. Again, on the subject of the management of the Philippine Islands and kindred questions, Democrats like Senator Morgan, of Alabama, who have been heretofore most prominently identified with the foreign policy of the country and its results, do not entertain views that resemble Mr. Bryan's. The Hon.

Carl Schurz, and some others of his way of thinking, now zealous supporters of Mr. Bryan, were his most vociferous opponents four years ago, on account of monetary views which Mr. Bryan has not, meanwhile, altered in the slightest degree. The President's cabinet is not merely a group of men charged severally with the management of particular departments of administration. It is also charged with the duty of advising the President in a general way on all subjects. Mr. McKinley's cabinet is in harmony upon questions that affect the treasury and financial policy of the Government, as well as upon questions relating to Cuba, Porto Rico, and the Philippines, the position of the United States in China, and all other leading matters, both domestic and foreign.

Mr. Bryan as an Autocrat. But how could Mr. Bryan, who stands with equal and uncompromising boldness for the immediate free coinage of silver; the immediate imposition of an income tax; the immediate renunciation of our sovereignty in the Philippines; the immediate reversal, in important respects, of the present policy of the United States in Cuba and Porto Rico; the immediate smashing of trusts, and the immediate and peremptory snubbing of England,—how could Mr. Bryan, with his positive programme, embracing all these and some other demands, with his unyielding strength of will and his scorn of half-measures and compromises, form a cabinet from his best-known supporters? In case of his election, it will be for him to answer the question; and, most assuredly, he will answer it in his own way, without casting about for hints and suggestions. There is, after all, something superb in Mr. Bryan's poise and self-confidence. There is nothing of a *Hamlet* about him, either in mind or in temper. His strength and vigor as a man are, in some sense, a disqualification for public affairs; for we do not get the best results from autocrats as presidents. And Bryan is the most autocratic person now in American public life, not excepting Hanna. To see what he would really do if put into the White House would be so interesting as to afford at least a partial compensation for some of those harmful consequences that the conservative mind has conjured up as probable.

Willis Abbot on the Campaign Methods. We publish elsewhere two interesting articles upon the practical methods employed in this campaign. One of these is by Mr. Willis J. Abbot, who has played the leading part in the conduct of the Democratic propaganda by means of the press and printed matter; the other is by a New



"WE CAN EAT IT, BUT—" From the *Herald* (New York.)
 (Carl Schurz, David B. Hill, and Richard Olney would not be happy at Bryan's Cabinet table.)

York newspaper man who has seen much of the work at the Republican headquarters. Mr. Bryan, in a speech made last month to his former neighbors in Illinois, is reported to have said :

If the election were held to-day, there is no doubt that we would have a majority in the Electoral College and in the popular vote. But the Republican managers are now collecting from the monopolies a large campaign fund. They will buy every vote that can be bought. They will coerce every vote that can be coerced. They will intimidate every laboring man who can be intimidated. They will bribe every election judge who can be bribed. They will corrupt every count that can be corrupted.

Mr. Abbot, writing from what we may call the "Intelligence Bureau" of the Democratic campaign, does not bear out the feeling conveyed in these words of Mr. Bryan's. He takes the position that his opponents have not deliberately tried to gain the day by corrupt methods; and that campaign work, as in the main practised on both sides, is of a kind that could be subsequently revealed to the whole world without shame. There is, of course, much attempt on both sides at effective and secret strategy; but the secrecy is of doubtful value, and consists chiefly in finding out the relative strength and weakness of parties in particular States and neighborhoods. Nothing could be more absurd,

for instance, than to suppose that the Republican solicitude—which in the early part of the campaign was very great.—about the German vote of the Northwest led to any attempts at bribery or corruption. What it did lead to was a most careful analysis of the German-American state of mind, in order that printed arguments and stump speeches might bring the utmost possible persuasion to bear upon these voters to act this year as four years ago. Almost all of the money that has been spent on both sides has gone into kinds of work which, if fully explained, would enhance rather than harm the reputations of political parties in the United States both at home and abroad.



SENATOR HANNA AND SENATOR JONES (in chorus): "You're a friend of the wicked trusts."—From the *Record* (Chicago.)

A Quick Campaign In England.

The people of the British Isles have chosen a new House of Commons. Their Parliamentary elections are not all held on the same day, but run through a period of about two weeks. This arrangement is for the benefit of proprietors owning land in different places, who are entitled to travel about the country and cast a vote wherever they have holdings. One of the chief demands of the Liberals, for a number of years past, has been "One Man—One Vote," as in the United States; the multiple vote of property-holders redounding chiefly to the benefit of the Tories. This year's voting, which began on Monday, October 1, and ended virtually on the 13th, was upon the basis of the old registration of five years ago, and, of course, also upon an unchanged basis of distribution of seats—or apportionment, as we would say. The use of a five-year-old registration list or "voting-roll" operated as a practical disfranchisement of many voters; and this was distinctly detrimental to the Liberals. The whole thing was put through with something like indecent haste. It was announced on September 17 that the old Parliament would be dissolved on September 25, and that its newly elected successor would assemble at Westminster on November 1. (It has now been decided, however, not to hold a session until February.)

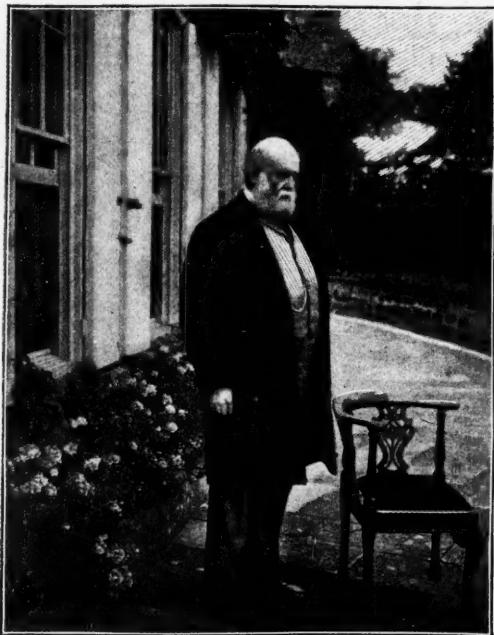
With the Expected Result.

The results of this English election were a foregone conclusion. The Ministerialists—to use the word that came to be quite generally adopted for those who were supporters of the Salisbury-Chamberlain government—have secured almost exactly the same majority in the new Parliament that they won five years ago. Although this is a large majority,—about 132 in a total house of 670,—it is by no means, under all the circumstances, a highly brilliant victory. Modern England had never indulged in such transports and paroxysms of enthusiasm over anything else as over the pitiable war for the destruction of the two tiny Dutch republics of South Africa. And the election was held on the eve of Lord Roberts' formal announcement of the annexation of the Transvaal—the annexation of the Orange Free State having been accomplished several months earlier. To most Englishmen, the South African struggle has presented itself as a life-and-death matter for the British empire; and the ministry—perhaps less worthy of the nation's enthusiasm on its own pure merits than any ministry that England has had for a very long time—has been indorsed, not because it has been genuinely admired, but because there has seemed, to the majority of Englishmen, to be a supreme necessity for presenting to the

outside world an appearance of standing by one's own country and one's own government.

Which Was Also a Necessary Result.

This, under the circumstances, was not merely natural, but commendable. The defeat of the present government at just this juncture would have hurt England in the outside estimation, particularly in view of the fact that there was no coherent



LORD SALISBURY, WHO ENTERS ON A NEW PERIOD AS PRIME MINISTER.

and united opposition, with an acknowledged leader and a definite policy of its own. The great army in South Africa—the largest ever sent so far away from home by any European country in modern times—was still encamped on hostile soil, not with great battles to fight, it is true, but with an irritating and difficult state of guerrilla warfare to contend with. This was not the moment for changing parties, nor was it a reasonable time for holding an election. The war cannot now be undone, needless and bad though it was; and the annexation of the Boer republics could not be reconsidered without producing a convulsion throughout the British empire. It was indeed inevitable, when Krüger issued his ultimatum and made his appeal to arms, that British supremacy should be completely established in the Transvaal. As we have maintained from the beginning, there was nothing in the



RT. HON. ARTHUR J. BALFOUR.

(Conservative leader in House of Commons.)

RT. HON. JOSEPH CHAMBERLAIN.

(Colonial Secretary.)

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN.

(Liberal leader in House of Commons.)

practical alternatives that lay before Mr. Krüger and his colleagues at Pretoria that in the least justified war. So long as the contest was simply a diplomatic one, the people in England who sympathized with Mr. Krüger as against Mr. Joseph Chamberlain's diplomatic methods were many and influential. The only hope for the Boers lay in appeals to English public opinion. This chance was forfeited when resort was made to force. We do not, of course, justify the English Government in refusing arbitration; but the Boer ultimatum and invasion of Natal left England with nothing else to do than fight. And when a war comes, no matter what provoked it, any nation worthy to exist will fight as hard as it can. The English were at once committed irretrievably to the permanent reduction of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State.

Standing by the Work of the Army in Africa. There may have been other solutions more ideal; but there was no other that was practical, in view of the exigencies of the British empire and the facts of human nature. The thing most to be desired, therefore, was that the war should be prosecuted with the utmost vigor, and brought to an end promptly, with the least suffering and loss of life on either side. The stubborn resistance of the Boers, after it was certain that they must yield in the end, may have been heroic from one point of view; but it was too cruel and useless to be admirable. Heroism is a word that should be kept to apply to cases where brave and self-sacrificing deeds have an adequate reason and motive. To continue fighting in a hopeless cause, merely through vindictive determination to make an enemy's victory cost him the more dearly, is not

heroic in the best sense. Considering their numbers, the Boers have displayed an amazing military prowess, and their officers in particular have shown qualities by comparison with which the British officers have not gained admiration anywhere except in their own country. But the great, blundering British army in South Africa has been brave, has done its best, has shed an appalling amount of blood, and has suffered almost indescribable hardships incident to the horrible regions in which it has had to march and fight and suffer from fevers. And from the point of view of this great army, still suffering in South Africa, and from that of the tens of thousands of enfeebled men invalidated home, it would have been wellnigh inconceivable that the country should not have put the stamp of its approval upon them and their work. But how else could it show its appreciation and express its purpose to evolve some kind of valuable result out of the army's painful achievement except by taking the patriotic view of the war and the situation, and by voting to sustain the government.

The Fate of the Boers. The vote was, therefore, not so much a vote of confidence in Salisbury, Chamberlain, Lord Lansdowne, secretary of state for war, and the rest of the ministry, as a vote recognizing "things as they are," and indicating John Bull's firm determination to see a difficult piece of business clear through to a fixed and stable conclusion. Thoughtful people, in their calm and reflective moods, must admit that there are worse fates for small outlying regions in Asia, Africa, and other remote parts than to be brought under the protecting folds of the British flag and accorded the

kind of law and administration that are characteristic of the British empire. The Transvaal could not have continued a great while as an independent republic under the government of men like Krüger. This was as impossible as was the



RT. HON. GEORGE J. GOSCHEN.

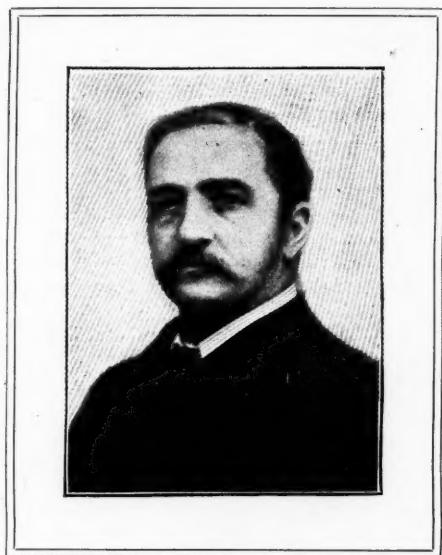
(Who retired last month as head of Naval Department in British Cabinet.)

continuance of Mexican-Spanish rule in California after the discovery of gold. It may be a long time before men of pure British blood shall outnumber, in South Africa, those of the Dutch-Huguenot or Boer stock; but England's control of Cape Colony, Natal, and other extensive regions in South Africa, and her preëminence in commerce, mining, and business enterprise of all sorts, had made it probable that sooner or later the Transvaal would come into close relationship with British South Africa. The Dutch element of the population in Cape Colony could not well be in a better position. Being in the majority, it can, if it chooses, control the colonial parliament, and carry on local affairs to suit itself. It has every right it could ask as regards the use of its own language, the freedom of worship, and the education of its children. It has long enjoyed the perfect protection of the great navy of England, without having any of the bills to pay. The Boers of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State must simply learn to reconcile themselves to the pleasant fate of their brethren in Cape Colony.

Leave the Future to Posterity. South Africa may or may not be destined at some time to go its own way as an independent country. However that may be, nothing could be more cer-

tain than that the best way for South Africa to attain that future position is to cast the present idea of it into the deepest well of oblivion. There can be no independent South Africa until there has developed a great, prosperous, and fairly homogeneous community. Such a development will require time—say, fifty or a hundred years; and no other conditions could be nearly so favorable for such development as the same kind of cheerful and loyal acquiescence in the British connection as is shown by the Dominion of Canada and the Commonwealth of Australia. The Dutch of South Africa should study history, cultivate the philosophical attitude of mind, and promptly conclude to become the most exemplary and least troublesome people in any portion of Queen Victoria's dominions.

The British Policy of Tolerance. The Finns and the Poles hate Russia's domination, not so much for theoretical reasons, or because the sentiment of nationality and the longing for independence survive, as for the far more practical reason that Russia's domination is oppressive to them in their every-day life. It means to the Finns not only the conscription of their sons



R. W. E. MIDDLETON.

(Chief manager of the Conservative campaign.)

into the Russian army, but the giving up of local liberties and customs that were very dear to them; the Russians being determined to assimilate them in language and religion as well as in administrative and military methods. But

the British empire has been most successful in proportion to its employment of the very opposite policy. It has given the French in Canada far more freedom as Frenchmen than they would have had if they had remained a colonial possession of France. It is now determined that those men of Dutch descent in Cape Colony who violated their British allegiance by giving direct or indirect aid to the Boers in the recent war are neither to be hanged nor imprisoned for life as traitors, but simply to be deprived of their voting rights for a longer or shorter period, as the courts may sentence them individually. This lenity of treatment shows a swift and hopeful recovery of sound political sense. It was to be feared, several months ago, that a very severe course might be pursued, which would only result in the perpetuation of discord. It will depend chiefly upon the Boers themselves, in the two annexed republics, how soon the English army of occupation shall be withdrawn and institutions of local self-government established. The sooner and more completely they accept the results of the war, the better it will be for them.

Mr. Chamberlain and His Office. As for Mr. Chamberlain, he has now the great opportunity of his life to exhibit a broad statesmanship. Under the new Parliament, Lord Salisbury will continue to be prime minister, and will also, it is expected, continue, for some time to come, to keep in his own hands the portfolio of foreign affairs. It had been reported that Mr. Chamberlain, who is now by far the most conspicuous figure in the government, would be transferred from the Colonial to the War Department; but it is more likely that he will prefer to stay where he is. Mr. Chamberlain has certainly magnified his office. He has brought into the administration of colonial affairs a new conception, which lifts that administrative post into the most important one in the cabinet, not even excepting the foreign secretaryship; for, with Mr. Chamberlain occupying the position of colonial secretary, the office is not that of the head of a routine department engrossed with sundry red-tape details, but it is rather the very heart and center of the great British empire, intensely concerned with the political and commercial development of that empire—as one great whole made up of a multitude of parts, each having its own peculiar conditions. Thus the manifold problems of Canada, Australia, South Africa, India, and other parts of the world's map that are tinted with British red, concern primarily the colonial office, even where they belong incidentally also to the foreign office. However one may sympathize with the Liberals in their deep dislike and dis-

trust of Mr. Chamberlain, it may not be denied that his game of British imperialism is played on a magnificent scale, and that he has the support of the country in his aspiration for British aggrandizement.

Some Demands on Statesmanship. He is only at the very beginning, however, of the work in South Africa that must test his statesmanship. Or, rather, he must make a second start, with the obligation to redeem the bad beginning that plunged the country into war. It may be the final verdict of history that it was Mr. Chamberlain's bungling and overreaching style of diplomacy that made it necessary for England to acquire the Transvaal by fire and sword, where a wiser and more skillful method would have established British paramountcy throughout South Africa without stirring up race feeling and without the firing of a single gun. Having landed his country in war at the end of a period of acrid correspondence with the Transvaal Government, in which Mr. Chamberlain was constantly shifting and changing his demands, the situation passed out of his hands into that of the war department, where it has continued to remain. It is to be supposed, however, that a civil régime will now soon make its appearance by the side of the military occupation, and will gradually gather up the reins of authority. The better the statesmanship shown in the establishment of this civil régime, the sooner will the British taxpayer be relieved of the burden of keeping a great army in the newly conquered territories.

The Kaffirs, Mr. Rhodes, Etc.

The Kaffir negroes greatly outnumber the white population in the Transvaal, and the Boers have kept them down by a system of servitude that falls a little short of slavery on the one hand and greatly short of British principles of individual freedom on the other hand. It will not be possible for England to permit this system to continue; but it will be difficult to readjust it, and at the same time to win the good-will of the Boer farmers, who think that their system of managing the Kaffirs is necessary for the safety of the white population. Some very difficult problems, moreover, must be faced in the acquisition, from Mr. Rhodes and his chartered company, of certain rights and possessions in the great Rhodesian territories west and north of the Transvaal that it has now become needful for the British colonial empire to absorb in the complete sense. Thus the statesmanship of Mr. Chamberlain in South African affairs, so rudely interrupted at its outset by the war, is now to be resumed with problems to face that will test it to the utmost; and,

in dealing with these problems, Mr. Chamberlain will find himself obliged to reckon at every point with the views of a man no less masterful than himself—namely, Mr. Cecil Rhodes, of Kimberley and Cape Town, who has now reentered South African politics, and who seeks to regain the confidence and support of the Dutch element.

Some Assets of the Salisbury Ministry. Whether for good or for ill, the Salisbury government was what might be called a "going" concern. It had behind it a large working majority in the House of Commons, almost unanimous control over the House of Lords, the manifest good-will of the Queen and the royal family, and—what is not to be disregarded—the prestige and strength that comes from being on excellent terms with the governments and the public opinion of the great self-governing British communities of Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. It had to its credit Lord Curzon's acceptable management of the affairs of India, and Lord Cromer's conduct of the affairs of Egypt. It had further to its credit the splendidly successful expedition of General Kitchener to Khartum, resulting in the opening up and pacification of the Sudan and the annexation of a great part of it to the British empire. And still further, and of no small consequence in the estimation of the British public, it had to its credit a record of exceedingly amicable relationship with the government of the United States—a condition of things that amounts to a very valuable asset to the British empire. As for the South African war, it had at least been prosecuted successfully to what was a practical ending of organized military opposition on the part of the Boers, and it had resulted in the solution of full annexation. It had subjected the British army to a highly necessary test, giving England fresh confidence in her essential strength and a new determination to remedy the conspicuous defects of her military system.

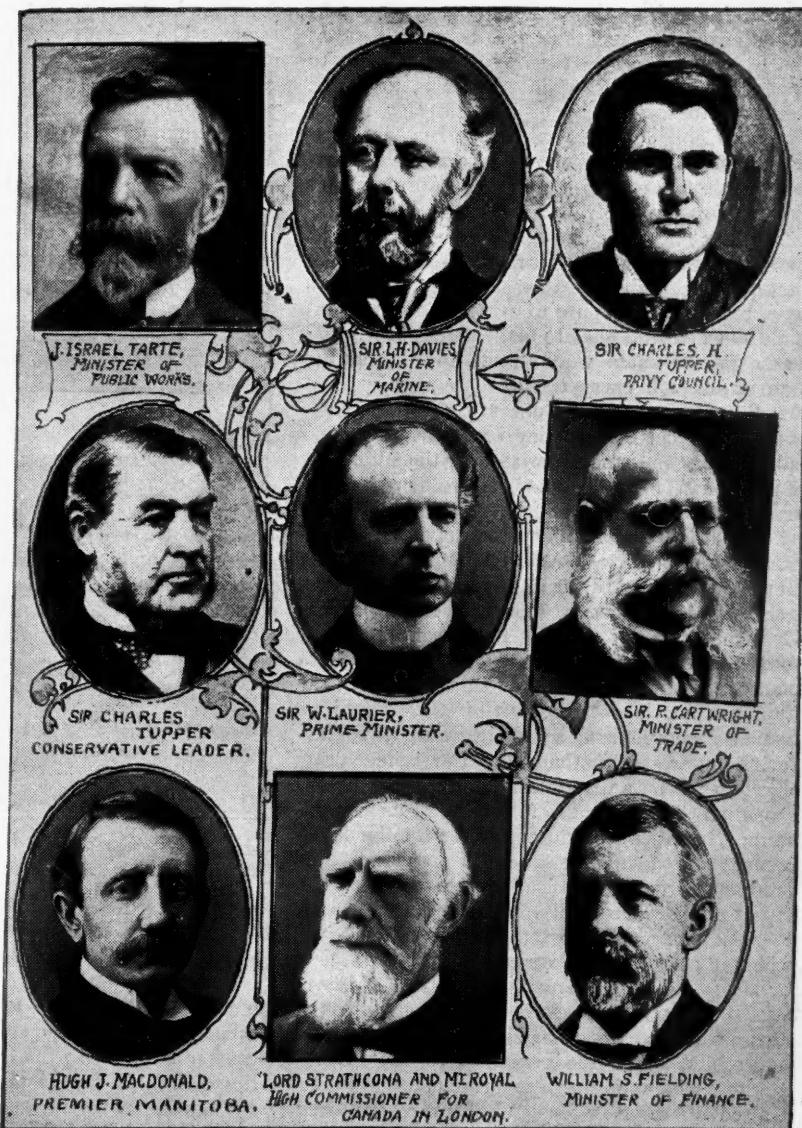
What if the Tories Had Been Beaten? As against all these things,—that could be said either in positive praise of the doings of the Salisbury government or in apology for them,—what lay before the country as an alternative? What if it had refused to vote the Salisbury party a new lease of office and power? The situation was, in many ways, analogous to that presented by current party politics in the United States. The most conspicuous difference, however, lay in the fact that in this country the various factors of opposition, while holding no set of opinions in common, were united upon a leader who happened to be fitted out with a large and complete

stock of opinions, each single one of which took, so to speak, the form of a strong hook upon which to hang some different element of his support. In England no Liberal leader appeared during the general elections just held. Mr. Campbell-Bannerman makes a respectable appearance as a nominal Liberal leader in the House of Commons, but no one would think of him as the authoritative head of the party. Sir William Harcourt is a trenchant debater, but has never held the full confidence of the elements opposed to the Tory government. Even the Irish Nationalists have found it practically impossible to unite upon any effective leadership for their own group; much less have they found any English Liberal generalissimo, since Gladstone's time, under whom they are ready to serve. The only man who might possibly have come forward to lead the Liberals in the recent election was Lord Rosebery. But he has nominally retired from Liberal party politics, and is, moreover, an imperialist to whose mind the only fault of the Salisbury administration seems to be that it has not been so efficient, in its aggressive military work, as it ought to have been. If, perchance, the Ministerialists had not come out of last month's election with a majority, the Liberals themselves would have been surprised and disconcerted. They would have had to cast about them both for a leader and a policy, with a forlorn prospect of being able to agree upon either.

The Future of English Liberalism. But in due course of time the Liberal party will find itself again, and have ample work to do. It is too much to expect that property-holders will be allowed, without opposition, to retain the multiple suffrage in England, and thus to exercise imperial authority over great democratic communities like Australia and Canada, where the pure democratic principle of manhood suffrage prevails. Furthermore, the Liberal party will have a sufficient excuse for existence so long as the Tories keep their hereditary House of Lords, with its power to veto all bills passed by the House of Commons. And it is rather inconceivable that there should not be a Radical opposition so long as there remains an Established Church, with the unequal privileges now enjoyed by that organization. The principle of "one man—one vote;" that of the reform of the House of Lords; that of secular education as against the subsidizing of church schools with the taxpayer's money, and that of the equitable taxation of landed property, are, with several other kindred principles, the basis of a programme that will not allow the Liberal party in England to perish until its demands have been satisfied.

The Canadian Election. The election of a new Dominion parliament occurs on November 7. The Liberal government, under Sir Wilfrid Laurier as prime minister, came into power four years ago, with a parliamentary majority of about 30. That majority, by subsequent changes, has been almost doubled. Sir Wilfrid belongs to the French-Catholic half of Canada; and his administration, besides the general support of the Liberal party as such, has the special support of the French-Canadian element. The Conservative party in the present contest is headed by Sir Charles Tupper, aided by Hon. Hugh John MacDonald, who is prime minister of Manitoba. He is the son of the late Sir John A. MacDonald, who served for so long a time as the Conservative prime minister of Canada, and who was the father of the protective policy. Canada has, of late, seen better times than usual, and there seems to have been far less drifting—both of French-Canadians

and also of young and ambitious English-speaking Canadians—across the line into the United States. Manufactures and agriculture have prospered more than ever before; transportation interests and systems both by land and by water have greatly improved; the prestige of Canada in London was never so high; relations with the United States, in spite of various open questions yet to be adjusted, are not disagreeable; and to the onlooker there would not



By courtesy of the New York Tribune.

SOME LEADING STATESMEN OF CANADA.

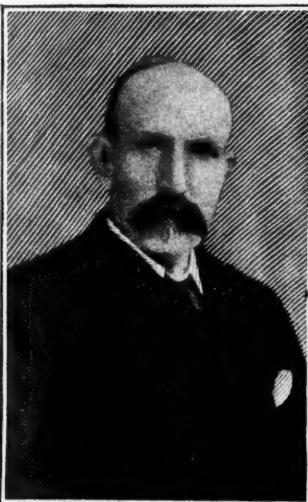
seem to be any sufficiently clear reasons brought forward by the opposition why the Conservatives should now be restored to power.

Campaign Issues in Canada. The best reason against such restoration of the Conservatives would seem to lie in the needless emphasis it would give to the race and nationality question. Some of the Conservative newspapers have been guilty, in the present campaign, of exceedingly

rancorous and irritating attacks upon the French-Canadians, who are accused of being disloyal at heart, and ready at the first favorable moment to oppose everything English. There is no means so likely to sow the seeds of disloyalty in the French-Canadian mind as these British jingo accusations; and nothing could be so well calculated to promote harmony as the indorsement at the polls of Sir Wilfrid Laurier and his administration. The settlement of the Manitoba school question will naturally hurt the Laurierites in that province; and the Conservatives profess to have reasons for hoping to carry British Columbia. They expect, also, to make gains elsewhere; but a fair estimate would seem to be that the Laurierites will carry the day, though by a reduced majority. The Conservatives were disposed to advocate the policy of securing preferential arrangements in England for the admission of Canadian food products, in return for the arrangement now existing in the Canadian tariff by which British manufacturers have a 33½-percent. preference over American manufacturers. But the Canadian Liberals have shown the uselessness of any such demand: first, because England certainly would not grant it; and, second, because if it were granted the British manufacturers would demand the freedom of the Canadian market—a proposition that would be instantly antagonized by the growing manufacturing interests of Canada. For some years there has been a disposition on the part of the Canadian Government to foster and promote cold-storage facilities on land and water for the development of the export trade in Canadian food products. Sir Charles Tupper has now made it a part of the Conservative programme to promise a great enlargement of cold-storage facilities; whether as a direct government undertaking or by aid to private enterprise is left rather uncertain. What is desired is very greatly to increase the export of Canadian butter, eggs, fresh meats, and other food supplies to the English market, which now draws principally upon the United States, New Zealand, France, Denmark, and other countries. Such a policy, however, is one that the Liberal government is in just as good a position to carry out as the Conservative opposition.

Newfoundland's Remarkable Contest. Newfoundland, which, though a British colony, is wholly independent of Canada, is also in the throes of a political campaign that is regarded by all Newfoundlanders as of vital interest and importance. The election will be held on November 8, one day after the Canadian election, and two days after our own. There is much in this New-

foundland situation that is dramatic and picturesque. The present prime minister is Hon. Robert Bond, and his most influential supporter is Hon. Edward P. Morris, Q.C. For a number of years Mr. Bond has been known as the advocate of close commercial relations between Newfoundland and the United States. When Mr. Blaine was secretary of state, he and Mr. Bond, in 1890, negotiated the so-called Bond-Blaine commercial convention, which was in the general line of Mr. Blaine's reciprocity policy, and which seemed to offer many points of mutual advantage. The Canadian Conservative government of that day, however, disliked the idea of closer relations between Newfoundland and the United States, and persuaded the British Colonial Office to refuse to allow the treaty to go into force. The people of Newfoundland have looked on at the advantageous commercial arrangements negotiated between British West Indian islands and the United States, and they see no reason why Canadian jealousy should be allowed to interfere with their exercising the same privilege of trading on favorable terms with their best natural market. Mr. Bond still stands for the policy of close relations with the United States, and he believes that the British Government could not now very well refuse its assent if an arrangement similar to that of 1890 were again negotiated. This, however, does not form the pressing issue in the pending Newfoundland campaign. The matter that has agitated the Newfoundlanders for several years past has been the monopoly conferred upon Mr. R. G. Reid. Mr. Bond and the Liberals are not friendly to this monopoly; while the Conservatives, under the leadership of Mr. Morine—who, by the way, is Mr. Reid's principal legal counsel—are as heartily for the Reid monopoly as the English Tories are for the landed gentry, the House of Lords, and vested interests in general.



R. G. REID, ESQ.

(Known as the "Czar of Newfoundland.")

*Mr. Reid
and His
Monopoly.*

Mr. Reid was a Scotch boy who made money in Australia and subsequently turned up in Canada as one of the contractors who grew rich out of the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway. Some seven years ago he obtained from Newfoundland a contract by which he was to construct, for the government, a railroad almost 600 miles long across the entire island from west to east. He was to receive the sum of \$15,000 a mile for grading the road and laying down the rails. Before the road was completed, however, the Newfoundland government had entered upon a period of extreme financial difficulty, and the railroad was an elephant on its hands. Mr. Reid came forward with a proposition to furnish the rolling-stock and full equipment for the road, and then to operate it for a period of years, in consideration of his receiving an immense land grant, plus a yearly mail subsidy of \$60,000. The government's difficulties increased, and it could not pay the cash subsidy. Thereupon Mr. Reid offered to release it from the obligation to pay the money, on condition of its giving him the railroad at the end of a term of years, and immediately adding to the extent of his already vast land grant, besides giving him a complete monopoly of the right to build and operate railroads anywhere in Newfoundland, and also the telegraph monopoly. Mr. Reid's great land grants include mineral rights, and he is presumably the largest landholder in the world. In association with his sons, he has opened mines, operates coastwise steamships in connection with his railroad, owns and operates the trolley lines in the capital town, has established paper-pulp mills to work up the forest resources tapped by his railroad, and seems to have turned the island of Newfoundland into something like one immense private estate. There seems no opportunity to break down the contracts under which Mr. Reid has given so little and obtained so much. Newfoundland sold its birthright for a mess of pottage. It gave away the rights and the untold wealth of future generations to tide over a small, temporary financial stringency. The British Government did an exceedingly bad piece of business when it ratified this contract. The worst of it all is that, if the British Government had not been false to the true interests of Newfoundland by vetoing the Bond-Blaine commercial treaty, the island would have had prosperity, and a revenue ample enough to have saved itself from the plight under stress of which it sold itself into perpetual servitude to the monopoly. Besides owning pretty much all the prospective wealth of the island, it appears that Mr. Reid owns the Conservative party. It is reported that, as a

general campaign object-lesson, he has closed his mills and stopped various developing enterprises, in order to teach the voters their dependence upon him for the means of earning their daily bread.

*Settlement
of the
Coal Strike.* The anthracite-coal strike, which began on September 17, was practically ended on October 17 by the announcement

of the great coal companies connected with the Philadelphia & Reading and Lehigh Valley railroads that they had decided to concede the demands of the strikers. It was morally certain that the coal operators throughout the anthracite district would follow the influential example of these two enormous factors in the situation. Public opinion was rather strongly inclined in favor of the striking miners from the very beginning, and this sentiment grew steadily throughout the strike. The miners had been ready and anxious at all times to submit the dispute to arbitration ; and the reasons advanced by the mine-owners and operators for refusing to arbitrate had been anything but convincing to the impartial mind. Under the disguise of coal companies, the coal-carrying railroads are the real owners and operators of a great part of the anthracite mining district ; and the miners on the one side, and the public that consumes fuel on the other, have been the victims of a combination of the roads, by virtue of which several times as much per ton was paid for carrying this anthracite coal as railroads in the bituminous districts received for carrying soft coal. A general advance in wages of 10 per cent. was conceded ; and it was agreed that this should hold good at least until next April, and that the sliding-scale system of wages should be abolished. The other grievances of the miners, such as the overcharge to which they had been subjected for the powder they use in their work, and the extortions that in many of the mines, though not in all, are practised by the company stores with which the miners are compelled to trade, are left to be settled by further conference, on principles which may be expected to work out a decided improvement in conditions. It must not be supposed that we have any disposition to censure individual owners and operators of anthracite collieries, or individual railroad men prominent in the management of the coal-carrying lines. The situation, from their point of view, presented many serious difficulties, for which few of them were personally responsible. The miserable conditions that prevailed for a long time in the bituminous mining districts have been wonderfully transformed by the plan of an annual representative conference of all interests, in which wages and all questions affecting the relations of operators to miners are adjusted for the coming year.

A Fortunate Outcome. The recent strike does not seem to have left much bitter feeling on either side ; and the spirit in which concessions have been made by the operators will probably add to their future influence with the miners, and make it still easier to adjust questions that may subsequently arise. The operators, though not wishing to deal directly with President Mitchell, of the United Mine-Workers, had quite generally posted notices of a 10-per-cent. advance in wages. These notices were posted on October 5, and were conditional upon the miners' returning to work almost at once. The miners, on their part, had arranged for a representative convention to be held at Scranton, Pa., on October 12, and it was agreed that none of them would accept the 10-per-cent. advance or go back to work until the whole subject had been carefully considered at the convention. Mr. Mitchell won great praise by the excellent spirit and judicious tone of his remarks to the miners at the opening of this convention, and the delegates themselves were conservative and exemplary in their conduct. Their demand that the 10-per-cent. rise should be guaranteed for a definite period of at least six months was obviously reasonable ; and their determination to stand shoulder to shoulder throughout the anthracite region was also the prime requisite of any success whatever. It was, indeed, their evident firmness in standing together that won the concession of the added 10 per cent. Thus the final remark to be made about the anthracite-coal strike is, that it was justified by its success. Strikes are, as a rule, a hazardous and unfortunate recourse ; and millions of people in the United States gave a sigh of relief when they read, on the morning of October 18, in the newspaper headlines that the operators had yielded, that the strikers had won, and that there was no prospect of further trouble in the Pennsylvania coal regions. Incidentally, it had been felt that the prolongation of the strike would lead to a kind of military interference that would hurt the Republican party and would help the Bryanites. The termination of the strike would appear to have no political bearing one way or the other.

The German Chancellorship. There has been a change in the chancellorship of the German empire. The retirement of Prince Hohenlohe was announced at Berlin on October 17. He had been in ill health since the death of his wife a year or more ago ; and he is, moreover, well past eighty years of age. He had succeeded to the imperial chancellorship on the resignation of Count Caprivi in October, 1894. For twenty years previous he had rendered tactful and valuable service to Germany, first



CHANCELLOR VON BÜLOW, OF GERMANY.

as ambassador at Paris, and then as governor of Alsace-Lorraine. As chancellor he has been esteemed and respected, but has not shown himself "a man of iron." The Emperor himself has, in fact, been his own chancellor. It was natural and proper that Count von Bülow should be immediately named as Prince Hohenlohe's successor. Bernhard von Bülow was born in 1849, and is, therefore, fifty-one years old. When he entered the German foreign office in 1873, his own father was secretary of German foreign affairs under Chancellor Bismarck. The young Bülow was secretary of embassy at Rome, St. Petersburg, and Vienna ; served in Athens at the time of the Russo-Turkish War, and was afterwards at St. Petersburg, Paris, Bucharest, and Rome. Bülow is a man of great influence and popularity in Germany, and has been a highly successful minister of foreign affairs. It is undoubtedly a part of his policy to cultivate good relations with the United States. The Emperor's Chinese policy has had the full and constant support of Bülow, although the aged Hohenlohe was said to be not in sympathy with adventures of that sort.

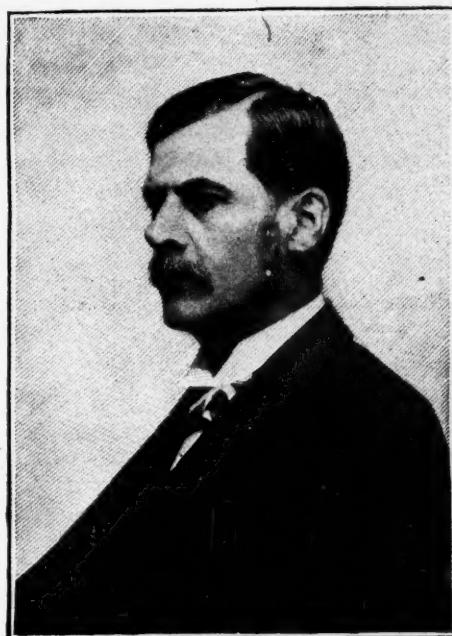
Progress of the Chinese Negotiations. It was not to be expected that so momentous a business as the settlement of the Chinese trouble could be accomplished offhand. A good deal of deliberation and discussion was essential. The steadfast adherence of the United States to a just and reasonable policy has exercised what in the end

will be recognized as having been a determining influence. On October 20, official announcement was made of an agreement between Germany and England to maintain the territorial integrity of China and to keep open to the trade of all countries the Chinese ports on the sea-coast and principal rivers. An invitation to the other leading powers—including the United States and Japan—to accept these principles, was made a part of the agreement. England and Germany, while pledging themselves not to use the present complication to obtain any territorial advantages, reserved to themselves the right to take such steps for the protection of their own interests as they might subsequently find best in case any other power should start the game of grab. The English are now represented at Pekin by Sir Ernest Satow, who has been transferred from Japan to succeed Sir Claude Macdonald. It is enough to say that the settlement of the Chinese question seemed last month to be making some progress in the right direction. We shall, in our next number, sum up the diplomatic aspects of the situation more fully.

Marquis Ito in Authority Again. October opened in Japan with the resignation of the Yamagata ministry and the summoning of Japan's most famous statesman, the Marquis Ito, to form a new cabinet. The Marquis Ito has often been called the Bismarck of Japan. He is a soldier, statesman, and diplomat familiar with the political institutions of all countries, and an especially devoted friend of the United States. He is not, on the other hand, an admirer of Russia. It was Ito who, as High Admiral of the Japanese Navy, crushed the Chinese warships in September, 1894, and who afterward negotiated the terms of peace with Li Hung Chang. It was Russia that deprived Japan of the advantages of that treaty, as Ito well remembers. He, more than any one else, was the author of the Japanese constitution. He is now prime minister for the third time. He would fight Russia, rather than permit that country to annex Northern China and Korea.



THE MARQUIS ITO.



SIR ERNEST SATOW, BRITISH AMBASSADOR AT PEKING.

Norway's Independent Course. The Norwegian elections, held several weeks ago, resulted in practically no change of party strength in the Storting, or Parliament. Since the previous election of 1897, however, there had gone into effect a new suffrage law which extends the franchise to every male citizen twenty-five years old, and practically doubles the number of legal voters. The Radicals continue to hold twice as many seats in the Storting as their Conservative opponents. They show no disposition to moderate their feeling on the subject of their relations with Sweden, and King Oscar's task is growing more and more bewildering. It is no great matter that the Norwegians have determined to use a totally distinct flag; but the law they have passed for the establishment of a separate diplomatic and consular service will involve the Crown in peculiar difficulties. Envoys in foreign countries are regarded as representing the sovereign rather than the legislature; and if, as reported possible, King Oscar will give his consent to this law, his dual representation at the courts of other nations must have aspects at once ludicrous and embarrassing.

It is announced that the young Queen *Wilhelmina's Engagement.* of Holland is to be married in the early future to the man of her choice, who happens not to be of sufficient importance



THE PRINCE OF FLANDERS AND HIS BRIDE, THE PRINCESS ELIZABETH, OF BAVARIA.

among royalties and nobilities to make the engagement an affair of international politics. Her fiancé is Duke Henry of Mecklenburg-Schwerin. Queen Wilhelmina was twenty years old on the last day of August, and it is said that the wedding will take place next spring. Mecklenburg-Schwerin is a little duchy on the northeast coast of Germany, and its ducal family is of very ancient lineage. Duke Henry is a lieutenant in the Prussian Guards, and is four years older than Queen Wilhelmina. This young sovereign has evidently modeled her career upon that of Queen Victoria—which is a mark, in her, of wisdom and character. Prince Henry will come to Holland as a naturalized Dutch subject.

*Marriage of
the Belgian
Heir-Appa-
rent.*

It should be noted that a royal neighbor of Queen Wilhelmina's—namely, Prince Albert of Flanders, heir-apparent to the throne of Belgium and twenty-five years old in April—was married a few weeks ago at Munich to the Princess Elizabeth of Bavaria, who is described as young, beautiful, and charming. Prince Albert is one of the most promising of the younger scions of European royalty, highly educated, and of broad views.

*Obituary
Notes.*

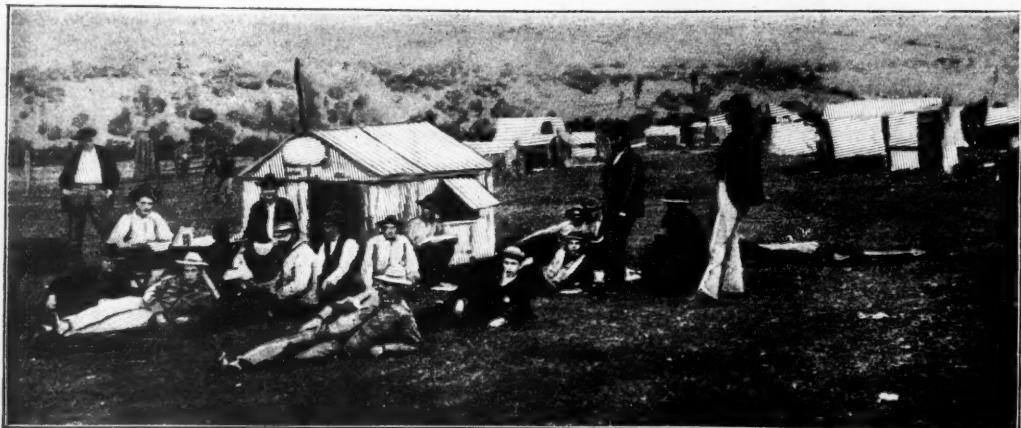
In the obituary list of the month, recorded on another page, will be found the name and portrait of William L. Wilson, president of Washington and Lee University at Lexington, Va. He was a

member of President Cleveland's last cabinet, and before that time a distinguished member of Congress from West Virginia. He had been ill for many months. He was justly held in the highest esteem.

The Hon. Samuel F. Carey, of Ohio, died several weeks ago at a great age. He ran on the Greenback ticket with Peter Cooper. Gen. Martínez Campos—Spain's best-known soldier and public man—has passed away at the age of sixty-six.



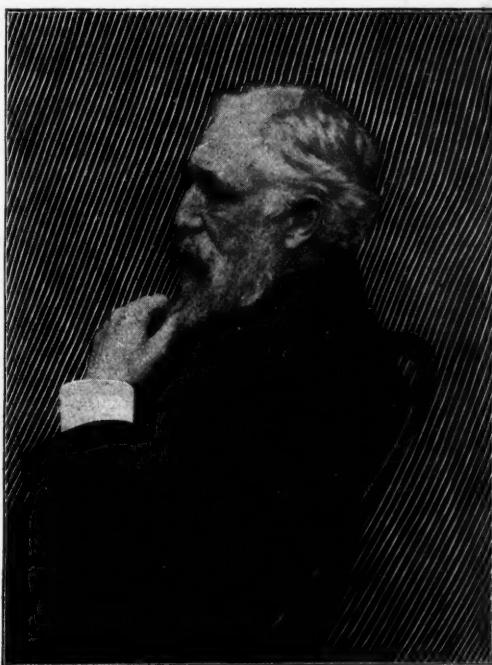
THE LATE GENERAL CAMPOS.



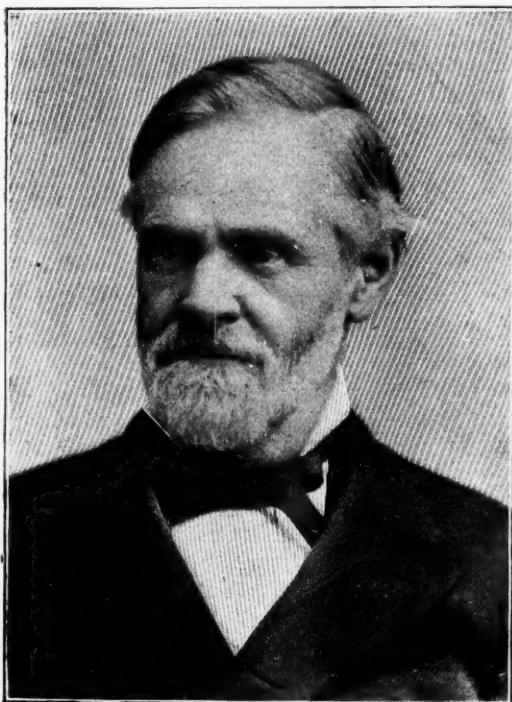
VIEW OF THE QUARTERS, IN THE ISLAND OF ST. HELENA, WHERE THE BRITISH HOLD MANY BOER PRISONERS OF WAR.

Death of Charles Dudley Warner. Later in the month came the news of the death of two Americans of international reputation. Mr. Charles Dudley Warner, man of letters, publicist, and journalist, died at Hartford, Conn., on October 20. He was born in September, 1829, and was therefore 71 years old. He graduated at Hamilton College in 1851, having made the beginnings of his reputation as a writer even while an undergraduate. After two or three years of writing, Western travel, and editing, he studied law at Philadelphia, and practised that profession in Chicago. In 1860 he became an assistant editor, in Hartford, under Joseph R. Hawley. Mr. Hawley went into the war, as every one knows, and Mr. Warner became editor-in-chief of the paper. His connection with Hartford journalism was never wholly severed, although his attention in later years had to do with the literary rather than the political side of editorial work. As an essayist and a writer of books on travel, he attained a high rank among the foremost men of letters this country has produced.

Death of John Sherman. John Sherman, who was the most eminent of surviving American statesmen, died at Washington, October 22, in consequence of a general decline of physi-



MR. CHARLES DUDLEY WARNER.



JOHN SHERMAN.

cal and nervous force. Mr. Sherman was born in Ohio in May, 1823, and was therefore in his seventy-eighth year. After a varied practical experience in early life, he had in 1840 entered his brother's law office, and on May 11, 1844, having completed his twenty-first year, he was promptly admitted to the bar and taken into partnership. He plunged at once into politics, that being the year of Henry Clay's great campaign against James K. Polk; and thus, it will be seen, his active political career covered more than half a century. He was elected to Congress in 1854. By the end of his second term, he was the most influential man in Congress, and in his third term was chairman of the Ways and Means Committee. He would have been Speaker in his fourth term, but the retirement of Chase from the Senate to enter Lincoln's Cabinet made a vacant seat in the upper branch, to which Mr. Sherman was at once promoted. In 1877 he entered Mr. Hayes' Cabinet as Secretary of the Treasury. His foremost part in the resumption of specie payments, and his distinguished services as a public financier, will give him his best title to a permanent place in the history of American statesmanship. He left the Senate to become Secretary of State in Mr. McKinley's Cabinet in 1897, but retired a year later on account of ill health.

RECORD OF CURRENT EVENTS.

(From September 21 to October 20, 1900.)



SENATOR-ELECT WILLIAM P.
DILLINGHAM.
(Of Vermont.)

SENATOR JONATHAN P.
DOLLIVER.
(Of Iowa.)

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT—AMERICAN.

September 21.—The Clark Democrats and the Populists of Montana agree on a fusion ticket, with J. K. Toole (Dem.) for governor.... Benjamin B. Odell, Jr., Republican candidate for governor of New York, pledges himself to oppose the Ramapo water-supply scheme.... Connecticut Democrats nominate E. L. Bronson for governor.

September 24.—Hawaiian Republicans and Democrats hold conventions and nominate native candidates for the office of Territorial Delegate to Washington.

September 26.—Governor Roosevelt speaks on the issues of the Presidential election in Colorado; Bryan partisans cause some disorder in Victor, a mining settlement.

September 27.—Adlai E. Stevenson accepts, by letter, the Populist nomination for the Vice-Presidency.... Mr. Bryan starts from Lincoln, Neb., on his final campaign trip.

September 28.—The Addicks and anti-Addicks Republican factions in Delaware agree on a compromise State ticket.

September 29.—James Howard, convicted in Kentucky of the murder of William E. Goebel, is sentenced to be hanged on December 7.

September 30.—The Federal party of Porto Rico, in convention at Caguas, adopts resolutions affiliating itself with the Democratic party in the United States.

October 1.—Governor Roosevelt makes thirteen campaign speeches in Nebraska.... Mr. Bryan speaks at Duluth, St. Paul, and other Minnesota cities.

October 2.—The bolting, or Daly, Democrats of Montana indorse the regular Democratic nominations for Presidential electors, and nominate Thomas Hogan (Pop.) for governor.... Massachusetts Democrats nominate Robert Treat Paine, Jr., for governor.

October 3.—The new Vermont Legislature meets.... The National convention of Democratic clubs is opened at Indianapolis.... Gov. Allen D. Candler (Dem.) is re-

elected in Georgia by a plurality of about 65,000.... Negroes take entire control of the Republican organization in South Carolina.... The New York tax commissioners make public the value of special franchises as assessed under the new law.

October 4.—Massachusetts Republicans renominate Gov. W. Murray Crane.... Gov. W. W. Stickney is inaugurated in Vermont.... Messrs. Bryan and Stevenson address the Indianapolis convention of Democratic clubs.

October 7.—A street fight between Federals and Republicans in Guayama, Porto Rico, results in the death of four persons, one of them a woman.

October 8.—The United States Supreme Court opens its fall term.

October 9.—Both houses of the Kentucky Legislature agree to the bill substituting the old election law in force when the Goebel law was enacted.... Trial by jury is inaugurated in Cuba under the auspices of the United States military authorities.

October 13.—The first two days of registration of voters in New York City and State show heavy gains, as compared with the records of the corresponding days in 1896.

October 16.—Mr. Bryan addresses four great mass-meetings in New York City.



SECRETARY ROOT AND ADJUTANT-GENERAL CORBIN.

October 17.—Mr. Bryan begins his campaign tour of New York State.

October 18.—The Vermont Legislature elects Ex-Gov. William P. Dillingham (Rep.) to the United States Senate.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT—FOREIGN.

September 21.—Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman and Sir William Vernon Harcourt issue British election addresses.... The "French Labor Party's" Congress opens in Paris.... The Cape Colony House of Assembly passes the treason bill by a vote of 46 to 37.

September 22.—The French Government banquets 22,000 mayors of cities and communes in the Tuileries Garden, Paris.

September 24.—Lord Salisbury issues his address to the British electorate.

September 25.—Writs are issued by the British Government summoning a new House of Commons.

September 29.—Lord Roberts is gazetted commander-in-chief of the British Army, to succeed Viscount Wolseley.... Mr. Chamberlain and 59 Unionist members, 5 Liberals, and 2 Irish Nationalists are returned unopposed to the British Parliament.... Alderman Frank Green is elected Lord Mayor of London.

September 30.—On the resignation of the Japanese Cabinet, the Mikado summons Marquis Ito to form a new government.

October 1.—Of 132 members of the British Parliament, the Conservatives elect 93, the Unionists 8, the Liberals 13, and the Nationalists 8; the Conservatives gain 2 seats.

October 2.—Arthur Balfour and John Burns are re-elected to the British Parliament by increased majorities.... The Peruvian Cabinet resigns office.

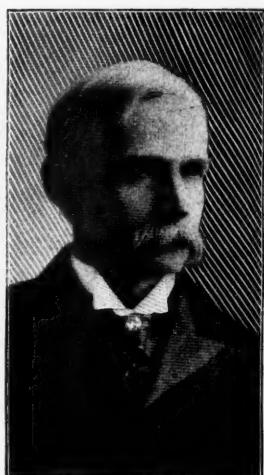
October 3.—The Peruvian Congress passes a vote of censure against the late cabinet; a new cabinet is formed.

October 8.—The Dominican Government decrees the suspension of constitutional guarantees.

October 12.—The Chilean Cabinet resigns office, and the President convenes Congress for a special session, beginning October 14.

October 13.—The Cape Parliament is prorogued.

October 16.—It is announced that Sir Richard Webster (Lord Alverstone) has been appointed Lord Chief Justice of England.... The British Parliamentary elections are complete, with the exception of those in the Orkney Islands; the representation of the United Kingdom will probably be: 334 Conservatives, 67 Liberal-Unionists, 187 Liberals and Labor men, and 82 Irish Nationalists; the government's majority being 132.



THE LATE WILLIAM L. WILSON.

(President of Washington and Lee University.)

October 17.—Count von Bülow succeeds Prince Hohenlohe as German Chancellor.

October 18.—The new British Parliament is prorogued till December.

THE CRISIS IN CHINA.

September 21.—The United States commissioner arrives at Peking.... The British command the order for winter clothing for the troops.... Count von Waldersee arrives at Shanghai.

September 23.—The United States declines to identify herself with Count von Bülow's circular note; Li Hung Chang and Prince Ching are accepted as plenipotentiaries; Mr. Conger is authorized to enter into relations with them. The reply to Russia is that the United States has not at present the intention of removing its legation from Peking.

September 24.—The German minister (with a squadron) leaves Shanghai for the North.... Li Hung Chang leaves Tientsin for Peking, escorted by Russian and Japanese troops.

September 25.—Russia and Japan reply to the German circular note.

September 26.—The United States decides to change the status of the American forces before the arrival of Count von Waldersee.

September 27.—A Shanghai telegram states that rinderpest has broken out among the cattle purchased for the German commissariat.... Count von Waldersee arrives at Tientsin.

September 29.—The Russian minister, M. de Giers, and all the members of the Russian Legation, leave Peking for Tientsin; Russia leaves 1,300 troops in Peking.... A decree is promulgated by the Emperor and Empress of China which degrades Prince Tuan and four other princes who encouraged the Boxer movement.

October 1.—Official announcement is made of the appointment of a Chinese commission to make terms of peace with the powers.



Princess Victoria of York. Prince Edward of York.
Prince Albert of York. Prince Henry of York.

QUEEN VICTORIA AND HER GREAT-GRANDCHILDREN.

October 3.—The withdrawal of the United States troops from Peking is begun....Germany makes a modified proposition regarding the punishment of the Boxer leaders.

October 6.—The withdrawal of the Japanese troops from China is begun.

October 9.—In reply to the demands of Germany, the Chinese Government promises that three of the mandarins guilty of fomenting the Boxer movement will be beheaded, that three will be sentenced to life imprisonment, and that Prince Tuan will be banished to the Siberian border and degraded.

October 17.—The allied forces enter Pao-Ting-Fu, meeting with no opposition.

October 18.—A message from the Emperor of China to President McKinley, and the President's reply, are made public.

October 20.—The terms of an Anglo-German agreement in regard to China are made public.

OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH.

September 21.—Extraordinary rainfall is reported from northern India; half of the city of Calcutta is submerged....Heavy rains in Texas flood the river-beds and cause loss of life and property.

September 23.—Conference committees of the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers and of the manufacturers sign a wage-scale to be effective till July, 1901; employment will be given to 60,000 men who have been idle since June last....

The International Socialist Congress opens in Paris....One hundred cases of yellow fever are reported under treatment at Havana, Cuba....Three thousand Boers surrender to the Portuguese, having previously destroyed all their cannon; the British occupy Komatiopoort.

September 24.—The attempt to resume work in some of the anthracite coal-mines of Pennsylvania results in failure; more miners join the strikers.

September 28.—A conference of the superintendents of the great anthracite coal companies is held at Wilkesbarre, Pa.

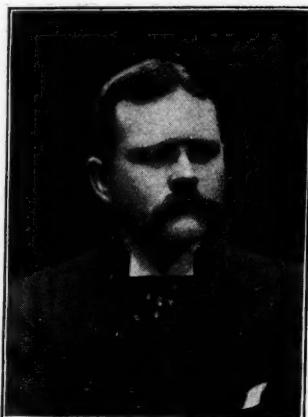
September 29.—Forty-five lives are lost in a collision of a Japanese steamer with a Norwegian steamer off the coast of Japan; the Norwegian steamer is sunk.



Copyright, 1900, by E. Chickering, Boston.

SEÑOR SIXTO LOPEZ.

(The Filipino now visiting the United States.)



MR. JOHN MARKLE.

(Member of the firm of anthracite coal operators prominent in the great strike.)

September 30.—British troops capture and burn several Ashantee villages in West Africa; 70 of the natives are killed....The International Peace Congress opens in Paris.

October 2.—The corner-stone of a new bridge over the St. Lawrence River is laid at Quebec.

October 5.—The principal anthracite coal operators decide to offer a net increase of 10 per cent. in wages, and to reduce the price of powder.

October 6.—Two thousand striking miners compel the closing of the collieries at Lattimer, Pa.

October 9.—The United States Army Board of Ordnance and Fortifications recommends to the Secretary of War that no more disappearing-gun carriages be made.

October 10.—The north half of the Colville Indian reservation is opened to settlement, and is entered by 4,000 home-seekers....The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions meets at St. Louis.

October 12.—Announcement is made of the appointment by President McKinley of Judge George Gray, of Delaware, as a member of the permanent arbitration tribunal to be established under the Hague Treaty.

October 13.—The anthracite coal-miners in convention at Scranton, Pa., vote to accept the 10-per-cent. increase of wages offered by the operators, provided the advance be continued in force till April 1, 1901, and the sliding scale be abolished; arbitration is proposed as an alternative, if terms are unacceptable.

October 14.—The business section of Port Limon, Costa Rica, is destroyed by fire.

October 16.—The betrothal of Queen Wilhelmina of Holland to Duke Henry of Mecklenburg-Schwerin is announced.

October 17.—Count Zeppelin makes successful tests of his airship at Friedrichshafen, in Württemburg....The New York Yacht Club accepts Sir Thomas Lipton's challenge to races for the *America's* cup, to be sailed in August.

OBITUARY.

September 21.—Dr. Lewis Albert Sayre, an eminent physician and surgeon of New York City, 80.

September 23.—Marshal Arsenio Martinez Campos, Spanish soldier and statesman, 66....Charles C. Burr, a Boston philanthropist, 84....George D'Vys, last surviving member of the Kane relief expedition of 1855, 68.

September 24.—Dr. Alfred Stillé, a distinguished Philadelphia physician, 87....Justice Thomas N. Haskell, of the Maine Supreme Court, 57.



DR. RUSH RHEES.
(Rochester University.)

MISS MARY E. WOOLLEY.
(Mt. Holyoke College.)

DR. HENRY S. PRITCHETT.
(Massachusetts Institute of Technology.)

THREE NEWLY ELECTED COLLEGE PRESIDENTS.

September 25.—Ex-United States Senator John M. Palmer, of Illinois, 83....Miss Elizabeth Van Lew, who, during the Civil War, furnished the Union forces with valuable information against the Confederates, 84....Hon. Felix Gabriel Marchand, Premier of Quebec, 68.

September 26.—Ex-Justice James C. Smith, of the New York Supreme Court, 84....Ex-Gov. George F. Drew, of Florida, 73.

September 27.—Thomas H. Lane, poet and author, an early associate of Edgar Allan Poe, 85.

September 29.—Thomas Gaskell Shearman, the well-known New York lawyer and writer, 66.

September 30.—Ex-Congressman Samuel Fenton Carey, of Ohio, 87.

October 1.—John E. Hudson, president of the American Bell Telephone Company, 61.

October 3.—Gen. Olney Arnold, a well-known citizen of Rhode Island, 78.

October 6.—Judge John Olney, the oldest member of the Chicago bar, and the last Illinois elector of President Lincoln, 79.

October 8.—George Roberts Blanchard, formerly commissioner of the Joint-Traffic Association, 59.

October 9.—John Patrick Crichton-Stuart, the third Marquis of Bute, 53....Maj. Selden Noyes Clark, a well-known Washington correspondent, 56.

October 11.—Ex-Mayor Walter C. Flower, of New Orleans, 50.

October 13.—Ex-Congressman Jay Abel Hubbell, of Michigan, 71.

October 16.—Sir Henry Wentworth Dyke Acland Radcliffe, librarian at Oxford University, 85....Zdenko Fibich, the Bohemian composer, 50.

October 17.—Ex-Postmaster-General William L. Wilson, president of Washington and Lee University, 57....James Parsons Major, the oldest steel engraver in America, 83.

October 18.—Gen. John W. Fisher, a veteran of Gettysburg, 86....Ex-Congressman John Little, of Ohio, 63.

October 19.—Sir Roderick William Cameron, the Canadian steamship-owner, 75.

October 20.—Charles Dudley Warner, the distinguished author and editor, 71.



Photo by Rockwood, New York.

DR. LEWIS A. SAYRE.
(Of New York.)

Photo by Gutekunst, Philadelphia.

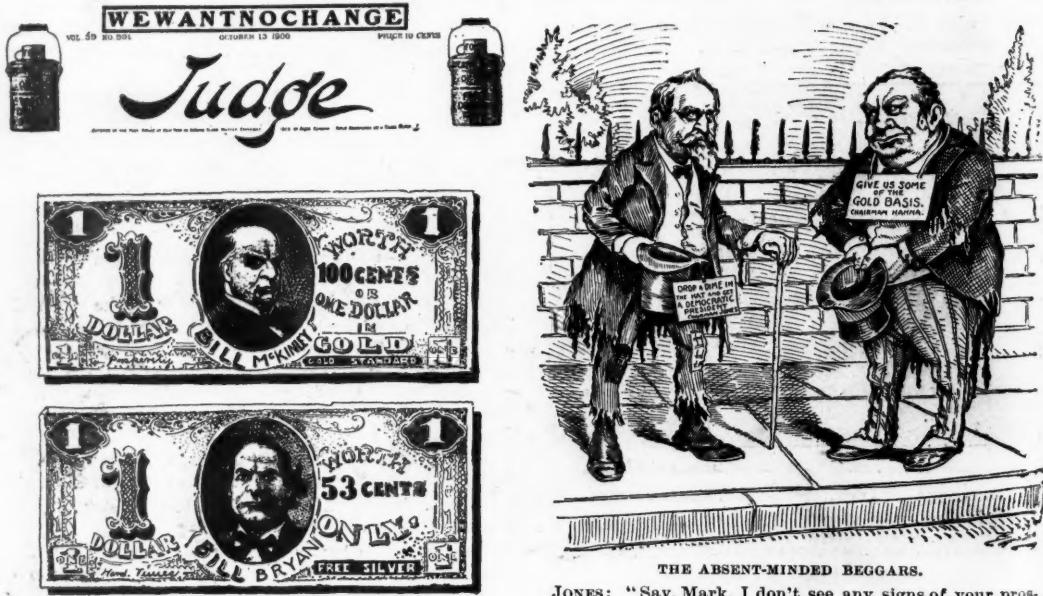
DR. ALFRED STILLÉ.
(Of Philadelphia.)

TWO DISTINGUISHED AMERICAN PHYSICIANS, RECENTLY
DECEASED.

SOME CARTOONS, CHIEFLY OF THE CAMPAIGN.



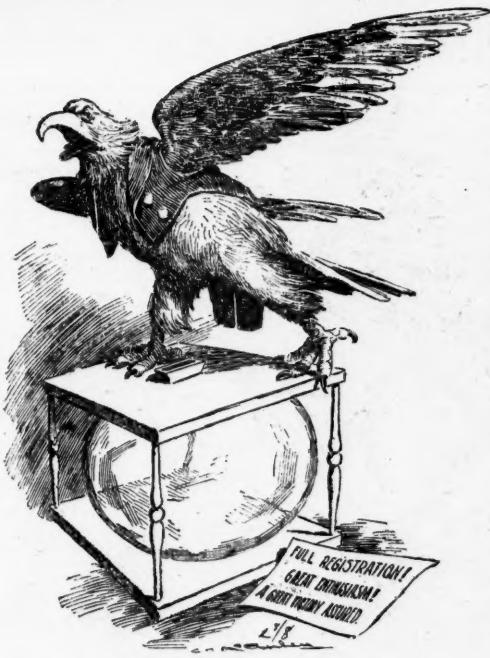
"I GUESS I'M IT."—From the *Evening News* (Detroit).



TAKE YOUR CHOICE OF THE TWO BILLS!
From *Judge* (New York).

JONES: "Say, Mark, I don't see any signs of your prosperity."

MARK: "You don't? Well, have you seen any free silver?"—From the *Journal* (Minneapolis).



DOES THIS LOOK LIKE APATHY?

REPUBLICAN EMBLEM "Hurrah for a full ballot-box, a full dinner-pail, and continued prosperity!"

From the *Inquirer* (Philadelphia).



SUMMING UP THE POLITICAL SITUATION.

UNCLE SAM: "Gentlemen, neither of you is quite big enough to have your defeat ruin the country."

From the *Wasp* (San Francisco).



TELEPHONE TO MANILA.

AGUINALDO (the fleet-footed): "Hello, Lincoln, Nebraska! Yes, Bill, I'm keeping the game going all right at this end of the line. Whoop it up, old boy, and we'll make a dish-rag of the American flag on these islands after November."

From the *Wasp* (San Francisco).

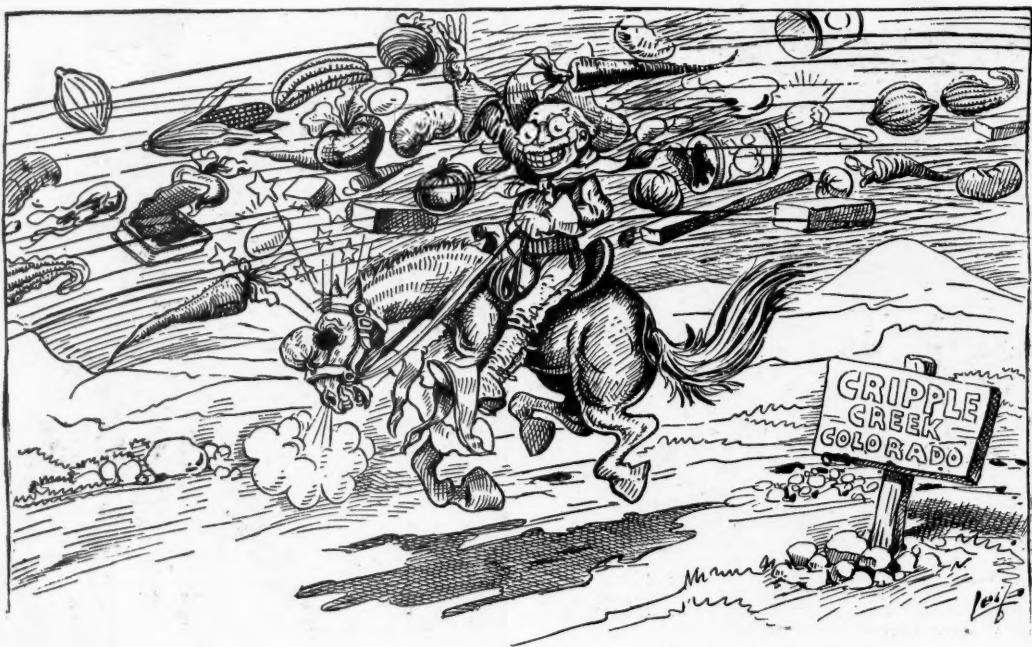


ASTROLOGER: "You will be defeated once more."

BRYAN: "And after then?"

ASTROLOGER: "Then you will get used to it."

From the *Eagle* (Brooklyn, N. Y.).



THE "ROUGH" IDEA IN POLITICS.

TEDDY: "Ah! just what was needed to carry out the effect."—From the *Evening News* (Detroit).



THE PROGRESS OF THE CAMPAIGN—IN THE WEST.
From the *Times* (Washington).



APPROACHING NEBRASKA.
BRYAN: "That looks like a bad storm coming."
From the *Journal* (Minneapolis).



WIDE-OPEN NEW YORK WELCOMES MR. BRYAN.

From *Harper's Weekly* (New York).

THE POLITICAL SHYLOCK.

"Beware, Bryan! Shylock will surely demand his pound of flesh."—From the *Journal* (Minneapolis).



SLAVERY AS IT IS PRACTISED TO-DAY.

From the *Tribune* (Minneapolis).

THE OHIO MAN'S BURDEN.—From the *Times* (Washington).

MR. W. B. STEWART has returned to Washington, where his cartoon attacks on Republican leaders and policies several years ago were frequently reproduced in this magazine; and his work last month was so striking that, with his co-operation, we have reproduced four or five of his drawings in this number. His work and that of many other cartoonists represented in our pages this month make some points that



MARK (on the ground): "Be careful, Bill! I ain't sure yet where you're going to light."

From the *Times* (Minneapolis).

need no explanation to those even slightly acquainted with the issues of the campaign and the leading personalities in our current politics. The Democratic cartoonists have made a great deal out of Mr. Hanna's

WILLIAM M'KINLEY.—From the *Journal* (New York).THE DREAM OF EMPIRE.—From the *Times* (Washington).



HANNA (to the Coal Baron): "I hate to do it, old man, but I have to."—From the *Evening News* (Detroit).

statement that there are no trusts; and a number of them, as in the cartoon at the top of this page, have attributed the settlement of the coal strike in Pennsylvania to Mr. Hanna's sense of political exigencies. There have been literally hundreds of cartoons, some of them very amusing, on Roosevelt's cyclonic tour of the West,

while Mr. Croker figures in cartoons without number. McKinley, Roosevelt, Bryan, Croker, and Hanna are the personalities with whom the cartoonists have dealt most freely and unsparingly.



HANNA: "Trusts in America? Dear me! I never heard of them! Those chaps on the porch? Oh, they are merely industrial combinations."—From the *Journal* (New York).



HANNA'S DREADFUL INFIRMITY.
From the *Chronicle* (Chicago).



ISN'T THIS CALLING UPON MR. BRYAN TO TOTE A PRETTY BIG LOAD?

Former Governor Stone returned from the East with the news that Croker is thoroughly in earnest and confident that Bryan will carry New York.—Political Item.

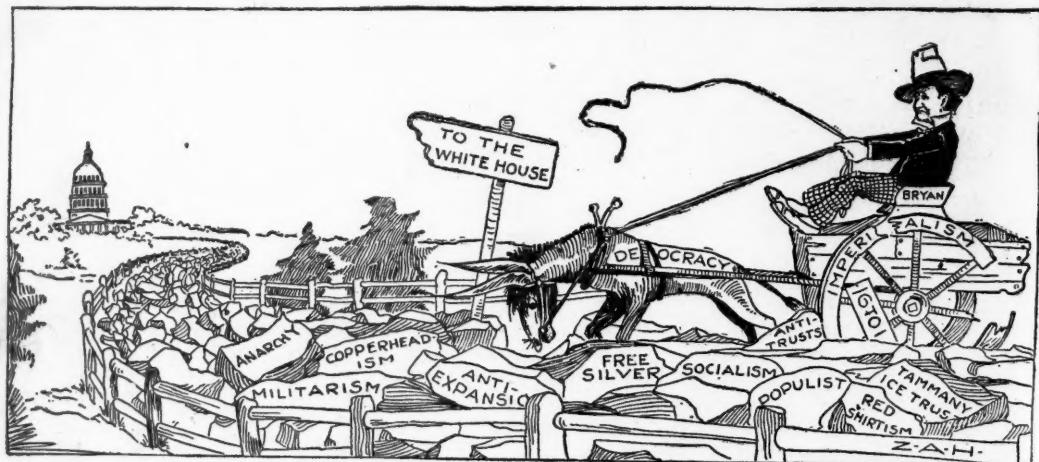
From the *Times-Herald* (Chicago).



JOHN BULL TO THE RESCUE.

"There is little reason to believe the majority of the American people desire to overthrow the administration which has brought them renown abroad, affluence at home; which has flattered American pride and filled American pockets. Still less does the intelligent majority desire to put in its place an administration which, at best, would forfeit the foothold which America has won in the far Pacific, break up the foundations of domestic order, shatter American credit and make a political adventurer President. Neither surrender nor repudiation has proved a good campaign cry. Bryan is for both, and for something very like anarchy, as well."—*London Times*, Oct. 5.

From the *Times* (Washington).



"HOW CAN HE GET THERE?"—From the *Star* (St. Louis).

HOW THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE WORKS FOR VOTES.

"LET the other fellows have the fiddles and the barbecues ! Our argument exists *per se* at the bench, in the workshop, at the desk, in the counting-room, at the chair by the fireside. Let them do the shouting ; we will do the showing. They may have the hysterics ; we have the conditions. 'Let well enough alone' is a mighty good saying, if it is well enough, as it is now for a good many more than a majority of the voters of these United States. We need not wave the flag. If they force it—the people of our country are patriotic. We need not win any gory victories on the stump, nor storm any Spanish armies from wagon-ends. The war is over,

untried and likely to be found wanting,—in short, to the sanity of the nation."

It was some weeks before the renomination of President McKinley that Senator M. A. Hanna made this little speech in the course of a discussion with four or five men high in the counsels of the Republican party. That the choice of the voters in November must lie between William McKinley on the one side and William J. Bryan on the other, was of course as certain as anything in mundane futurity. It is, nevertheless, worthy of notice to what an almost exclusive extent these remarks of the chairman of the National Committee, made over half a year before the election, have formed the keynote of the Republican campaign. Quite apart from any question of "bossism," Senator Hanna has the confidence of the Republican leaders. He has shown, over and over again, his almost intuitive grasp of the popular feeling. He combines this faculty for taking a correct view of the general situation with an attention to detail and capacity for unlimited work that cause political leaders of thirty or forty years' standing to defer to him, and to make him in fact, as well as in name, the head and director of the Republican campaign of 1900.

In considering the campaign particularly, it must not be forgotten that it did not grow up like a gourd in the night, but that it has been in progress steadily during the term of the administration—not merely in the general way of the administration making a record by which it should be judged, but literally. The Congressional Committee, with a member from each State, is constantly distributing campaign literature. While this is intended more particularly for Congressional purposes, it serves to keep the voters in touch with the issues ; and much of the matter prepared during the four years by the Congressional Committee is used again in the Presidential campaign.

Senator Hanna, having succeeded himself as chairman of the Republican National Committee, which is the post of Commander-in-chief of the Army of Campaign, took time in selecting his staff, the Executive Committee. It was not until after earnest consultation with the President, Governor Roosevelt, and other leaders of the party that the composition of the Campaign Committee, as the Executive Committee of the National Committee is popularly called, was an-



SENATOR MARCUS A. HANNA.

(Chairman of the Republican National Committee.)

and over with the utmost credit to the Republican administration. The people know that, and we need not weary them by dwelling upon it. Our appeal, and it need not be an appeal—still less a defense—is to sober common-sense as against visions ; to what is, and is satisfactory, as against what may be and may be disastrous ; to present prosperity, as against probable panic ; to what has been tried and found true, as against what is

nounced. It is considered, and is, in fact, as strong a fighting body as the party ever had to wage its battles—consisting of Henry C. Payne, of Wisconsin; Richard C. Kerens, of Missouri; Graeme Stewart, of Illinois; Harry S. New, of Indiana; Joseph H. Manley, of Maine; Nathan B. Scott, of West Virginia; Fred S. Gibbs, of New York; and Franklin Murphy, of New Jersey, with Perry S. Heath, of Indiana, secretary, and Cornelius N. Bliss, of New York, treasurer. These are names to conjure with. Every one of these men is thoroughly skilled in the art of political warfare; and, if William McKinley is defeated by William J. Bryan, it will not be because of lack of earnest, unrelenting, intelligent work on the part of the Republican campaign managers.

The appointment of Mr. Heath as secretary was inevitable. He resigned the responsible and honorable post of first assistant postmaster-general to take his old place, where he is a tower of strength. No

man in the country is more familiar with the details of actual campaign work than Mr. Heath, and much of the more important campaign literature comes direct from his pen. It was decided again to divide the national headquarters into two branches—one in New York and one in Chicago. While the New York headquarters

keep up the dignity of the metropolis and the East generally, it is no secret that the party leaders regard Chicago as the base of the more important work.

Until 1896, the National Headquarters were always in New York, and always in a brownstone front, private house on Fifth Avenue. This year the more important Chicago headquarters of both parties are in a big office-building, and in New York the Republican National Committee carries on its work in the Metropolitan Life Building, at No. 1 Madison Avenue. A visit to the offices of the National Committee in October gives an impression akin to that made by the

executive establishment of a great railroad or a great manufactory.

The enormous task of preparing campaign literature, the routine work of the fight, went on steadily from early summer. Tens of thousands of pamphlets, leaflets, and documents of varying sizes were compiled, setting forth figures and arguments on the issues as they had shaped themselves, and as they were outlined and defined in the platforms of the Republican and Democratic conventions. The *pièce de résistance* of this matter, "The Republican Campaign Text-Book," was ready for distribution in August. This is a compendium of invaluable information, compiled with great care and enormous labor, and intended primarily for the use of the thousands of men who were to do duty as orators in the Republican cause. A general outline of its contents will give some idea of the relative importance attached to issues by the leaders. The book leads off with an exposition of "Prosperity Under Republican Principles," regarding business interests, manufacturers, farmers, and working-men. The Spanish War is reviewed historically; ten pages are devoted to the situation regarding Cuba and Porto Rico, forty to the Philippines, two to Hawaii, one to the Samoan Islands; fourteen come under the head "Imperialism," twenty under "The Currency Question," and eight under "Trusts." The miscellaneous literature distributed broadcast is devoted mainly to these topics. It is not mailed directly from the Literature Bureau at headquarters, but shipped in bulk, by the carload often, to the chairmen of State and local committees, who attend to the individual distribution. In 1896, the cost of this branch of the work was something over \$700,000. This year it may get near the million-dollar mark.

The three distinct lines of effort used to make Republican votes are public speaking, the dissemination of documents,—leaflets, brochures, books, posters, badges, and buttons,—and the insertion of Republican editorials and news articles in the weekly and daily papers of the country. Most of the committee officials consider the last rather the most effective of the three kinds of propaganda, and the machinery for utilizing the papers is most elaborate and ingenious.

In Chicago, Mr. Charles R. Buckland is the head worker in this field, under Secretary Perry S. Heath. Mr. Buckland has seven assistants, two of whom read all current literature interested in political matters for good articles worth using for campaign services, while five write the matter to be inserted in the newspapers. There are three ways of getting these articles and editorials in the papers of the country: the country



MR. PERRY S. HEATH.
(Secretary of the Republican National Committee.)

weeklies receive "patent insides;" about 200 papers, many of them country dailies, get stereotyped matter, and to the more important papers proof-slips are mailed, to be set up at the editor's discretion. Practically all of the Republican papers use this matter, and some Independent organs. In fact, many of the country papers—2,000, it is estimated—have no other political news and discussion except what is sent out from Republican headquarters. The total result of this effort is enormous; nearly 4,000 papers publish the articles and editorials regularly. The articles are on the most varied subjects—"Troop Transports," "Rural Free Delivery," and "Sheep in Oregon;" but the net result of every one of them is an earnest exhortation to vote the Republican ticket. The ingenious journalists intrusted with the task of "education" do not disdain, either, devices like the "Dear Boy" letters, ostensibly containing a father's advice to his son, but cunningly leading on into resounding arguments for McKinley and Roosevelt. A majority of the papers among the faithful use an average of two columns per issue of this matter, and Editor Buckland and his colleagues have written now, at the end of the campaign, about 750 columns. Such a resourceful

THE FOOLISH CALF A LESSON TO LABOR



WHILE BEING DRIVEN HOME ONE EVENING BY A BOY, A FOOLISH CALF LEFT ITS MOTHER AND RAN AFTER A BELLOWING STEER. THE BOY TRIED IN VAIN TO BRING IT BACK TO ITS MOTHER'S SIDE, WHEN, FINALLY EXHAUSTED, HE SHOOK HIS FIST AT THE CALF AND CRIED: "YOU LITTLE FOOL, YOU LITTLE FOOL, YOU, FOOL! YOU'LL BE SORRY WHEN SUPPER TIME COMES."

MORAL—REMEMBER THE HARD TIMES OF 1896. DON'T BE A BRYAN CALF AND GET STEERED AWAY FROM THE FULL DINNER PAIL, OR "YOU'LL BE SORRY WHEN SUPPER TIME COMES."

A POSTER, 18 BY 26 INCHES, DISTRIBUTED THROUGHOUT THE UNITED STATES.



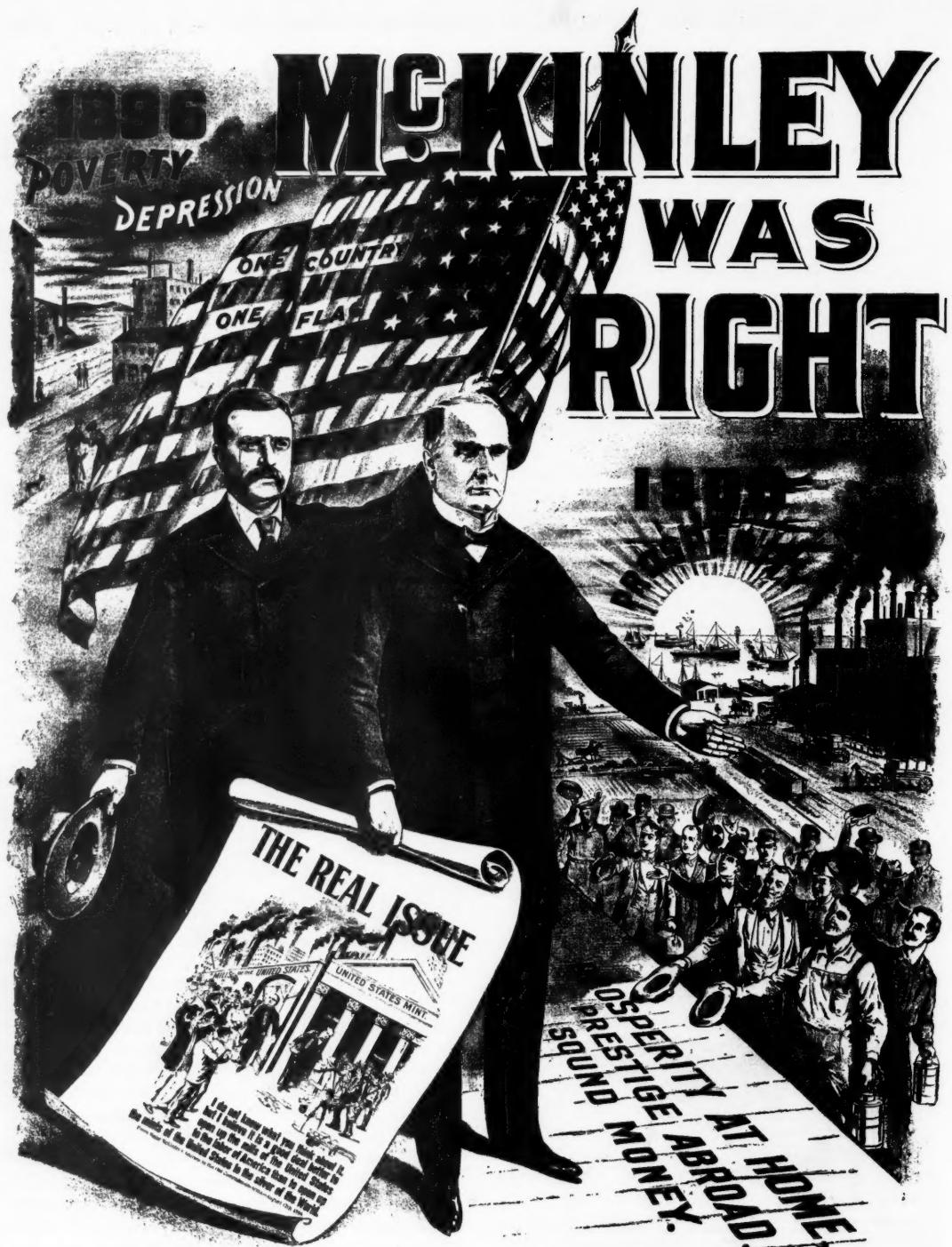
Courtesy of *Leslie's Weekly*.

MAMMOTH DINNER-PAIL AT THE HEAD OF A REPUBLICAN PROCESSION.

(This vessel, 14 feet high, led the working-men's parade at the opening of the national Republican campaign at Youngstown, Ohio.)

editor as Mr. Edward Rosewater, in charge of the national campaign in Nebraska, has been reprinting in his paper, the *Omaha Bee*, the actual news items of four years ago, showing the distress of the country four years ago. Beside these notices of foreclosure, statistics of starving men, and of applications at the soup-houses of Omaha, he prints the news of the present day, showing the railroads searching for men, offers of money at 4 per cent., current statistics of mortgage liquidation, and other features of prosperity.

So much for the utilization of the press. The pamphlet, leaflet, and poster work is even more enormous in dimensions and in cost. Over 70 different documents and eight posters have been put out,—80,000,000 copies of them,—at a cost of \$164,000. One of the illustrations of this article shows perhaps the most popular of the posters, "McKinley Was Right," of which 550,000 copies were printed and distributed. The Republicans have kept very honestly to their avowed purpose of using only dignified logic and discussion for persuading voters; but the campaign button, coming more under the "nation" classification, could not be wholly omitted, and 3,000,000 of these, of three different sorts, have been sent out.



Copyright, 1900, by Perry S. Heath.

THE MOST POPULAR POSTER ISSUED BY THE REPUBLICANS.

(Mr. McKinley is shown holding in his hand a poster of the 1896 campaign, the burden of which is upheld by the events of the past four years.)

Original size, 48 by 34½ inches.

The 70 different documents range from mere leaflets to the remarkably comprehensive and intelligent Republican "Campaign Text-Book," which is a closely printed, well-bound volume, of 456 pages. On the next page is reproduced a typical sample of the folders. This "Ignorant Foreigners" document makes the most of Senator Jones' phrase and its offensive possibilities in twelve languages—English, German, Italian,

copies in English, 500,000 in German, 250,000 in Norwegian, 250,000 in Swedish, 100,000 in Bohemian, the same in Polish, and 50,000 in Italian and Dutch, respectively.

Sectional prejudices are being carefully considered in the general dissemination of literature. About three-fifths of all the literature is sent out from Chicago, about 18,000,000 pieces from Philadelphia, and a large part of that which goes to the Northwestern States is issued from Milwaukee and St. Paul. For special conditions of sentiment, such as exist in the Silver States of Colorado, Wyoming, Utah, and Idaho, special arrangements are made. The regular campaign literature is edited by a well-informed gentleman in Denver, to adapt it to the tastes of the Mountain States, and is then distributed from Denver. So there is a special service for negroes and their papers, and the religious papers are supplied with sermons turning on political questions.

There is less use being made this year than in 1896 of special cartoons made for a political purpose by the committee's artists. Instead of this, the Republicans have gathered from the papers the striking cartoons making the points which help them most, have bound them in a book, and distributed it.

The third division of campaign effort is in public speaking—or, colloquially, "spellbinding." In this division of the campaign, Major Henry C. Hedges, of Ohio, manages the public speaking from the Chicago headquarters, with the assistance of Willis G. Emerson, of Wyoming. In New York, the department is under the general supervision of the Hon. Joseph H. Manley, of Maine, and Senator N. B. Scott, of West Virginia. Before the campaign, a complete list is made up of the available speakers in the country of the Republican way of thinking and those best suited for the purpose are selected. Many of them have salaries as well as expenses, while others receive only their expenses. They range in importance and dignity from the ordinary cart-tail "spellbinder" to great oratorical stars, like Governor Roosevelt, with their private cars and special trains. There are a great number of applicants for the work of political oratory; the qualifications of these are examined into by members of the committee, and sometimes they are unexpectedly called on for a sample speech to test their powers.

Over 600 regular committee orators are managed from the Chicago headquarters, and several hundred from the New York headquarters. These figures do not by any means suggest the total number of speakers, for there are hundreds of volunteers; and, when a "regular" orator holds forth at a particular town, prominent

Ο Λόγος τοῦ Προεδρου Μακ Κίνλει ἐπὶ τῷ ἀποδοχῆ τῆς Υποζηφιότητος.

"Η Σημαῖα τοῦ χρυσοῦ καὶ πάλιν ἀνεπετάσθη Ισχυροτέρᾳ.
Ἡ ἀπελεύθητος ἀλητὸς ἔβρασθη καὶ τὸ ρευμα τοῦ ἔκροχονευμονού
χρυσοῦ ἀνεκόπη.
Ἡ πίστωσις τῆς χώρας ἔχει φθάσει εἰς
ὑψηστον σημεῖον μεταξὺ τῆς διλλων ἔθνων.
Ἡ Νομοθεσία
ἔχει ἀπόφασιν ήτις ἑφαρμοζομένη δισφαλίζει δρυμένην ἀέιαν
δι' ἔκαστον τάλληρον τὸ διοίον εἰνε τὸ μάλλον γνωστῶν εἰς τὸν
πολιτισμένον κόσμον.
Δασμολόγων τὸ διοίον προστατεύειν τὴν
Ἀμερικανικήν ῥργασίαν καὶ βιομηχανίαν καὶ παρέχει ἀφοῦνα
εἰσόδηματα ἔχεις γραφῆις καὶ κοινός Νόμος.
Ἐχουμεν μικροτέρους
τόκους καὶ ὑγιετέρας, ἡμερομίσθια, περισσότερος σχῆμα καὶ
διλογιστέρας ὑποθήκης.
Αἱ ἀγοραὶ τοῦ κόσμου ἡττήσαι εἰς τὰ
Ἀμερικανικά προΐντα, ἔχουν φθάσει ἐκεῖ ἔνθα πατέ δὲν ἡχον
φθάσει πρότερον.
Ἐνώ εμεῖς ἔνδινται ἐπάνω ὅλον κομματον, μας, ἔχομεν ἡδη περι-
σευμα, ὃ φόβος μετεβλήθει εἰς ἐμπειστούντην, καὶ ἡ ἀναγκαστική
ἄργυρα εἰς ἐπικερδή ῥργασίαν.
Ἡ ἀπειλὴ τοῦ 18 πρὸ 1 κρέμα-
ται ὑπεράνια ἥμων μεθόλια τῆς φρικόδειας συνερετας εἰς τὴν πιο-
τωσιν καὶ πεποίθων τὸν ἔργων καὶ τὴν βιομηχανίαν.—Οἱ
ἔχοροι τοῦ καλοῦ νομίσματος συνκεντρώνουν τὰς συντετρεμένας
δυνάμεις των.
Οἱ Λαβες πρέπει μιαν εἰστεί φοράν να ἐνοθῇ καὶ
νικήσῃ τοὺς συνηγόρους τοῦ διμεταλίσμου, καὶ δέν δὲν ἡχον
παντας τὰς ἐνεργίας τοῦ, μέχρις ότουν ὄμων δρυμένην καὶ πάλιν ἐν
τῷ μάχη τῆς κοινῆς τιμῆς καὶ τοῦ στερεοῦ νομίσματος.
Εν τῇ μεγάλῃ συνεδρίᾳ των,
Ἐθνῶν ἐν χάρῃ ἐπιφέρασιδαμεναι καὶ
πάλιν εἰς τὸν κόσμον τὸ δύγμα τοῦ Μορού, τὰς πρὸς αὐτὸν ὑποχρεώσεις μας καὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν ἀπόφασιν τοῦ να μήν
συμετάσχουμεν εἰς τὰς περιπολιας τῆς Εὐρώπης.
Αἰσιων
ἡλθόν ἡ Ἐυρωπαϊκή συμμαχία ἐν Σαμαρα, ησφαλισαμεν δὲ δὲ
ἥμας ἐν ἑκ τοῦ σπουδαστέρον λημένων ἐν τῷ Ειρηνικῷ
Οκεανῳ, συνέμα δὲ τὸ ἐλεύθερον ευπόριον ἐν Κίνα, δηρ μᾶς
παρέχει αὐτοιν καὶ ιων συναγωνισμόν εἰς τὸ ἐμπόριον τῆς
Ἀνατολής.—
Ἡ αιφνίδιον καὶ φοβερά κρήσις την Κίνα προκαλή
σοβόρος σκέψεις, καὶ μήν περιμένεται ἀπὸ ἑνὸς ἡδη περισσότε-
ρας φράσεις, ἀλλά τοῦτο μόνον λεγω ὅτι αἱ μεγαλήτεραι μον
εὐέργειαι θά διενθύνθων πρὸς τὸν σκοπὸν να προστατεύειν τὴν
ζωὴν τῶν ἡμιτέρων πολιτων οἰτινες κυνδινεουν, πρὸς διατηρη-
σιν Ειρήνης καὶ εὐνομίας ειν Κίνα, πρὸς περιφρόύσην διων
τῶν δικαιωμάτων τῶν ἡμετέρων συνθηκῶν καὶ ἐκείνων τῶν προ-
νομέων τὰ διτα τὸ πεπολιτισμένον κόσμον εἰνε ὑποχρεομένους
να διατηρησον.—Περιεπανήθησαν εἰς ἀδοκιμάστους ἀτραπο-
αλλά τὰ βήματα ήμων ὑπαγορένθησαν ώτε τῆς τιμῆς καὶ τοῦ
κιθήκοτος.—Δὲν επιτρέπεται πλέον εἰτε δισταγμός, εἰτε υπο-
χωρησις.
Δὲν επολεμήσαμεν, οὗτε εἰς τὸ μέλλον θά πολεμήσουμεν παρά μόνον διὰ τὴν ἀλευθερίαν καὶ τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα.
Θά ἐκτελεσομεν διεν φόβου θλα τῆς έθνικάς καὶ διεθνεῖς ὑποχρε-
σεις.

A PORTION OF PRESIDENT M'KINLEY'S SPEECH OF ACCEPT-
ANCE, PRINTED IN GREEK.

French, Norwegian, Swedish, Polish, Hungarian, Greek, Dutch, Bohemian, and Hebrew.

President McKinley's letter of acceptance was, too, printed in several languages—2,500,000

"STRANIERI IGNORANTI"

QUE CHE DICE L'AMMINISTRATORE DI BRYAN

"Centinaia di migliaia di stranieri che sono qui levando il pane di bocca lavoratore, hanno votato nell'ultima e consiglio dei seguaci di McKinley. stranieri rappresentano una buona nazione degli Stati Uniti." — James K. "Può esserci mai dubbio fra chi è Bryan, oppure, i tre milioni e mezzo stranieri che . . .

"Unwissende Ausländer."

Das Bryan's Manager sagt.

"Hunderttausend unwissender Ausländer, welche hier der christlichen Arbeit das Brot aus dem Munde nehmen, stemmten bei der letzten Wahl auf Order von Anhängern McKinley's. Die Hälfte der Stimmen die McKinley erhält, stammt von diesen Ausländern." — James K. Jones, Bundes-Senator und Vorsitz des demokratischen National-Committee, 20. Januar 1897.

"Kann man zweifeln, wer siegen wird, die sebenzehn Millionen intelligenter Stimmen Bryan, oder die vierzehn Millionen unwilliger Ausländer für den ??" — James K. Jones, Bundes-Senator des demokratischen National-Committee, 20. Januar 1897.

demokratische Partei thut alles Mögliche, um einen Amerikanischen Bürger für Bryan zu gewinnen, sie habe wenigstens die Deutlichkeit, die "Ausländer" meistens für Burg nach der Wahl hielten. Senator Jones und die Abgeordneten seiner Siedlung, vom 20. Januar 1897: "ausländischen" amerikanischen führt, als "unwissende Ausländer".

"Widende Utlanders"

Quod tunc etiam de Bryan-Balston Nov. 1896.

"Hundrede af Tuffider af ubidene Utlanders, som er Munden paa ærlige for at lage Døgdet ved forige Døg, som McKinleys tilhængere ved dem. Døst, Utlanders fæste over Baldest af de Stemmer, som McKinley har maaet." — James K. Jones, Dot. States Senator and Chairman for den demokratiske National-Committee, 20de Januar 1897.

"OKUNNIGA UTLÄNNINGA"

HVAD BRYANS KAMPAJN-DIREKTÖR SAGT

"Munda tusentals okunniga utlännings med afsigt att taga brödet ur ärliga amerikanska arbetare, röstade vid sidenvälvet på anbefalingen av McKinley för att säkerhet halva antalet kastades för McKinley." — James K. Jones, United States Senator och Ordförande i kritiska National-Komiteen, 20 Januari.

"Kan det . . . dollor.

"CIENNI OBCOKRAJOWCY."

CO MOWI BRYANA PRZEWÓDCA.

"Selki tysięcy clemnych obecra, którzy odejmowali u st chleb u robotnikom, głosowali przy ostatecznym dyktandzie popieczęciu obcokrajowcy stanowili manu.

"BUTA KÜLFÖLDIEK."

BRYAN FÓKORTÉSÉNK A VÉLEMÉNYÉN

"A Buta Külföldiek százszel, a kikazitt, hogy kivegyek a békcsületes munkának támogatását, szavaztak a művelődési támogatásnak, melyeket McKinley James K. Jones, a Egyesült Államok Szenátoruk Német Birodalm Elnökének 1020. által tartott beszédbéből.

"Lehet-e kés, hogy kig fog győzni a fél millió mielőtt ember, a kik Bryanra vagy a hárrom és fél millió Buta Külföldiek szavazatuk?" — James K. J. Egyesült Államok Szenátorának és a Demokratikus Elnökének 1897 január 20-án történt beszédéből.

A demokrata párt örökségekkel erőködésével, hogy rábírja a "Külföldi" amerikai polgárokat, hogy Bryan szavazzanak novemberben. A demokrata párt azt állítja, hogy négyre sikérül a németek szavazatait.

Az 1896-ik vilásválasztáni a "Külföldi" szavazatok nyolc részére McKinley került.

"Unwissende Ausländer."

E QUE DIT LE DIRECTEUR DE BRYAN.

ntaines de mille Etrangers ignorants ne ici le pain de la bouche des honnêtes votèrent, à la dernière élection, sous les partisans de McKinley. Ces étrangers, pleinement à moitié du nombre par McKinley." — James K. Jones, des Etats-Unis et Président du Comité démocratique, le 20 Janvier 1897.

"C'est une question de deux millions et demi de votants intelligents pour Bryan, ou des trois millions et demi d'ignorants qui votèrent pour des Etats-Unis et pour McKinley." — James K. Jones, United States Senator and Chairman for the Democratic National Committee, 20 Janvier 1897.

"IGNORANT FOREIGNERS."

WHAT BRYAN'S MANAGER SAYS.

"Hundreds of thousands of Ignorant Foreigners, who were here taking bread out of the mouths of honest labor, voted at the last election at the dictation of McKinley's supporters. These foreigners comprised fully one-half of the number of votes received by McKinley." — James K. Jones, United States Senator and Chairman of the Democratic National Committee, January 20, 1897.

"Can there be any doubt as to which will prevail, the six and one-half millions of intelligent Bryan voters, or the three and one-half millions of Ignorant Foreigners who voted for McKinley?" — James K. Jones, United States Senator and Chairman of the Democratic National Committee, January 20, 1897.

The Democratic party is using every effort to induce the "Foreign" American citizens to vote for the election of Bryan next November. The Democratic party claims that it has at least secured the German vote for Bryan. In the election of 1896 the "Foreign" vote was cast mainly for the election of President McKinley. Shortly after that election in a speech delivered in his own State, Arkansas, and addressed to the legislature in joint informal session at Little Rock, on the night of Wednesday, January 23, 1897, Senator and Chairman Jones stigmatized the "Foreign" American voters as "Ignorant Foreigners," as quoted above.

Senator Jones was then the Chairman of the Democratic National Committee. Senator Jones is now the Chairman of the Democratic National Committee. He is now asking the "Ignorant Foreigners" to vote for Bryan this year.

How will the "Ignorant Foreigners" respond to the request of Bryan's manager, the Democratic National Chairman?

PRINTED, BIRCHALL & CO., PRINTERS, CHICAGO.

"TENDE VREEMDELINGEN"

AT BRYANS MANAGER SAGEN.

duizenden van onwetende vreemdelingen deden namen niet de mond van eerlijken arbeid bij latste verkiezing naar den wileyn's ondersteuners. Deze vreemdelingen volle de heft van het getal der stemmen McKinley verkregen." — JAMES K. JONES, VEREENIGDE STATEN EN VOORZITTER DEMOCRATISCH NATIONALE COMITEE 20 JANUARI.

enige twijfel zijn wat de bovenhand zullen zijn en een half miljoen van denkende Bryan, of de drie en een half miljoen vreemdelingen die stemde voor McKinley. — JAMES K. JONES, SENATOR DER VEREENIGDE STATEN EN VOORZITTER VAN HET DEMOCRATISCH NATIONAAL COMMITIE, 20 JANUARI, 1897.

De Democratische partij spannt al hare krachten in om de Amerikaansche burgers te bewegen

Republicans, lawyers, and officials of the community join him to make the demonstration a success. In the different States the chairmen of the State committees have in their care a large number of "spellbinders," whose selection and movements are made in the course of constant consultation with the National Headquarters. The manager of these speakers, with a hundred or more every night on his hands, with itineraries to lay out and dates to be made without conflict and with the best total effect in relation to the evening's movements—has no small task on his hands. Among the Republican "spellbinders" are 50 Germans, 25 Swedes, 25 Norwegians, 10 Poles, 10 Italians, 5 Frenchmen, and 6 Fins. There is no difficulty whatever in obtaining the necessary quantity of campaign speakers; 5,000 have sought engagement at Chicago. The difficulty comes in procuring the proper quality, and in obtaining money to pay them. Altogether in the weeks immediately preceding the election, it is estimated that 7,000 speeches are made every week-day night.

In addition to the speeches proper, there are Republican and sound-money parades and rallies to be brought off with *éclat*, and such picturesque demonstrations as are now taking place in Chicago, where "prosperity wagons" are sent out on the streets every day, with Republican enthusiasts to give heart-to-heart talks to laborers throughout the city.

The preparation and distribution of literature, with the engagement and assignment of speakers forms the great bulk of the routine work of the campaign. What requires the acumen and experience of Senator Hanna and his immediate associates lies in meeting issues as they arise—in taking advantage of circumstances, in determining what States may be considered safe without extra effort, and what States need the concentration of party energy. It may happen, as it has happened, that a State conceded to the other side can be won by properly directed efforts. The Campaign Committee receives almost daily reports from the State committees. In this regard, the Republican organization is better perfected this year than ever before. In every State local committees are hard at work, so that not an inch of ground is left uncovered. These local committees report frequently to the State committees, which in turn report to the executive committee, so that Senator Hanna and his advisers are kept constantly in touch with the conditions all over the country as they vary from week to week.

From the general to the concrete: It was early determined, by the Republican leaders, that the real fighting-ground of this campaign lay in the

States of the Middle West; and they have had no reason to change their views. So that there, if anywhere, are they concentrating their energies. No voter in Indiana, for example, will go to the polls without having had an opportunity to know the Republican arguments. A systematic, virtually house-to-house canvass will be made, so that it is safe to say that on the day before election the Campaign Committee will know, within a very few thousand, of how the State will throw its 600,000 votes. Senator Hanna has all along regarded New York, with its 36 electoral votes, as perfectly safe; but he is too old a campaigner to relax any efforts there. Indeed, he insists upon unremitting vigilance—even going so far as to allow himself to be quoted, in the midst of the campaign, as follows: "I admit that New York is doubtful, in the sense that the Republicans cannot set it down as certain to give its electoral vote to McKinley. We must fight for New York." It may be stated authoritatively, however, that the chairman of the National Committee is as sure of Republican victory in the Empire State this fall as he is of anything in the world. With equal positiveness it may be said that he is not at all sure of Ohio, whose 23 votes in election forecasts are usually put in the Republican column; that he feels that hard work is necessary in Illinois, with 24 votes, and that he is considerably doubtful of Indiana, with its 15 votes. Another State, usually put on the Republican side, in which great care is to be taken is Iowa, with its 13 votes. It is considered that there is a very fair chance of Kansas, which went Democratic last time. The personal popularity of Governor Roosevelt in the Sunflower State, and his early summer trip there, count for much. South Dakota, in 1896 the closest State of all, is another where the efforts of Governor Roosevelt are expected to turn the electoral vote Republicanwards.

From the first, the Republican leaders have considered that the Democratic issue of anti-expansion made the Pacific States safe for McKinley; that the free-silver issue, properly emphasized, would guarantee Republican success in the East; and that the general argument of prosperity would be effective all over the country. Along these lines the campaign is carried. Orders were given early that nowhere, especially in the East, should the voters be allowed to lose sight of the fact that a vote for Bryan was a vote for free silver; and the Democratic efforts to make "imperialism" the "paramount" issue in States where free silver was unpalatable have been met by the Republican lime-light burning steadily upon the words, "Sixteen to One."

THE MANAGEMENT OF THE DEMOCRATIC CAMPAIGN.

BY WILLIS J. ABBOT.

(Manager of the National Democratic Press Bureau.)

THE public, reading day by day in the newspapers of the phenomenal sagacity of the managers of great political campaigns, has, I think, a very exaggerated idea of the part which conspiracy and corruption play in a national election. The work of electing a President certainly does involve a great amount of shrewdness; but it necessitates vastly more hard work. What is called the work of organization is, after all, the essential thing in most campaigns; and this implies, not phenomenal capacity for devising expedients of more or less doubtful political morality, but rather a knowledge of men in all parts of the country and a capacity to do big things in a big way. I should think Mr. John D. Rockefeller, whom we of the Democratic side do not wholly admire, might, if he applied to campaign management some of the methods that he has used in building up his Standard Oil Company, be an almost invincible chairman of a National Committee. So, too, might the head of some great railroad who knows how to distribute work among a vast number of subordinates, and who, passing the word from man to man, can touch and stir into activity the humblest section-hand 2,000 miles away. That sort of talent is needed to conduct a campaign. But the difficulty is, that such talent usually finds its richest rewards in serving the corporations—railroad, oil, or steel. The man who is serving the corporations first can hardly be regarded as the ideal campaign manager; for there will always be apprehension, on the part of a large section of the voters, that with victory he will continue to serve the corporations in his political capacity. This is a digression, however. The point I desire to make clear is that running a campaign now is not, in any considerable degree, a matter of chicanery. It is a matter of hard, straightforward, earnest work. Nearly everything that is done might be bulletined on bill-boards in as big type as a circus uses without shocking the most nicely sensitive political reformer.

The first work of campaign organization is raising money to run the campaign. Few people not intimately connected with the operations of a National Committee can understand how enormous are the expenditures necessary for work

that is purely legitimate. When the printing of one important speech in quantities sufficient to supply the expected demand amounts to more than \$5,000, as I have from my personal experience known to be the case, and there are in the course of a campaign twenty-five or thirty such speeches, besides an immense number of other documents, one can see that the printing bill alone is a matter of some importance. In a newspaper interview the other day, Senator Hanna was quoted as saying that in this campaign the Republican bill for printing alone would be \$200,000. I have not the slightest way of knowing whether the senator was correctly quoted or not; yet I can readily understand how easily that amount of money might be spent in the publication and dissemination of documents. Beside this, the chairman of the ways and means committee must figure on the expenses of national headquarters, which, now that the middle West has become a battle-ground, are duplicated in New York and Chicago. At each place there are from 40 to 100 employees. He must bear in mind the number of speakers, many of whom indeed are volunteers, but to most of whom are paid their expenses and a considerable sum per diem. Halls must be paid for, special trains for candidates, banners to fling to the wind, follow-



THE SECRETARY'S OFFICE.

(At Headquarters of Democratic National Committee,
Chicago.)

ing the mistaken idea that the American voter is affected by an advertisement of a Presidential ticket as he would be by an advertisement of a circus. These things, all rolled into one, make up a heavy bill ; and this the chairman of the Ways and Means Committee has to meet. That is his problem.

At different times the two great parties have adopted different methods for the solution of this problem. Time was when the Democratic party went to the men of great wealth in the country and appealed to them for funds. That time is no longer with us. I do not know whether the change is permanent or only temporary; but it is, at any rate, very apparent to-day. Now the Republican party draws its revenues from the rich men in large contributions, while the Democracy is left to raising funds by appeal to popular subscription. The "endless-chain" system has been employed, and with some success. For three years the system of canvassing the country districts for contributions of one dollar a month from enthusiastic Democrats has been prosecuted, and the returns have amounted to perhaps one-tenth as much as might have been obtained from a big railroad corporation in the days before the Democracy became progressive. Some men of means undoubtedly contribute heavily to the Democratic campaign fund, just as some men of very slender income proudly and gladly give of their small store to the Republican party ; but in the main the condition is that the Democracy is the party of the poorer people, and must look to the poorer people for its support.

In every branch of business, the man who fills the purse is the most important man ; and, therefore, in managing a great campaign, the chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, if he be active in his work, is next to the chairman of the National Committee.

The chairman of the Executive Committee has charge of the work of organization. Under his watchful eye

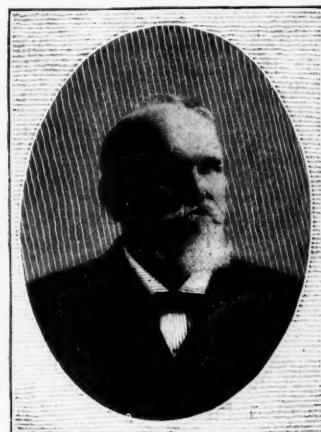
come all the multifarious details of the management of the campaign. He helps to decide in what States there is prospect of success, and therefore where speakers and "literature" should be sent. He is apt to be the busiest man about headquarters. He is, to the chairman of the National Committee, what the managing edi-

tor of a newspaper is to the editor-in-chief. He has less glory, but gets more than his share of the detail work. Under his watchful eye passes the work of the two chief bureaus of the National Committee—the bureau of speakers and the press bureau.

A novel method of political organizing was originated last year by

Executive Chairman J. G. Johnson, of the Democratic National Committee, and has been pressed with great vigor and a large measure of success. In its broad characteristics this plan involves the selection of a special representative of the National Committee in every election precinct of the United States. Of course so comprehensive an organization cannot be completed during a single campaign, but the doubtful States can be covered fairly well with official representatives, who have manifested their interest in the party's fortunes by paying a moderate fee, who operate in a field small enough to enable each to know most of the hesitating voters whom he may reach, and who, therefore, can deliver documents and take polls more effectively than can be done through the ordinary machinery of a county committee. In the Democratic National Committee, therefore, the executive chairman has this bureau of precinct organizations added to the others under his watchful eye.

Either party will have on its list of speakers from 2,000 to 2,500 men. One man must map out the routes for all these—determine whether an applicant for a place on the list is a local or a national character ; whether he had better speak on trusts or imperialism, tariff, or the minor

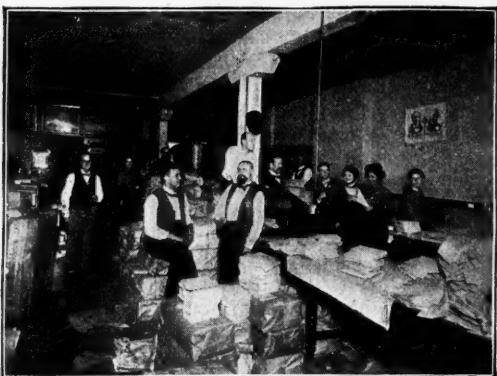


SENATOR JONES, OF ARKANSAS.

(Chairman of the Democratic National Committee.)



THE PRESS BUREAU.



THE DOCUMENT-ROOM.

WORKING-ROOMS IN THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC HEADQUARTERS AT CHICAGO.

issues of the campaign ; he must know whether the aspiring "spellbinder" is the sort of a man to send to the thoroughly intelligent audience which wants argument, or to go where violent invective and mere abuse of the opposing nominee is the more effective line of attack. He keeps on his wall a huge schedule of States, and cities, and dates, and he handles it like a college professor figuring out by means of curves the theory of value as laid down by the Austrian economists. When one remembers that a man intrusted with a work of such importance and such intricacy is only called upon to discharge it once in four years, one is amazed at the accuracy and the system by which the whole is accomplished. The manager of the speakers' bureau has, perhaps, as many amusing and perplexing situations to deal with as anybody connected with the conduct of the campaign. I have seen a letter to one such man saying that a local club had raised \$12, and asking what speaker of national reputation could be sent there for that sum. I have seen other letters from men who had composed dissertations in blank verse, and felt that if they could be put on the platform to deliver them they would do more for the cause that this particular chairman represented than could any ordinary orator.

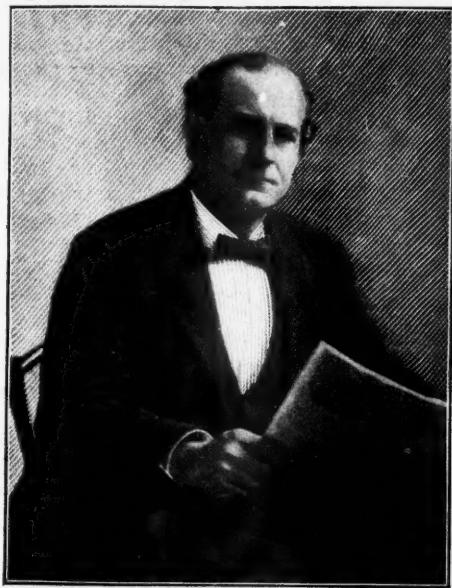
Indeed, the speaker who cannot speak, and the pamphleteer who cannot write, or who, writing, confuses the dimensions of a pamphlet with those of an unabridged dictionary, form the twin horrors of the national headquarters. Their numbers are amazing, as also is the thorough self-confidence which each one manifests, always declaring that his speech or his article is the one thing necessary to win victory for the side that he has honored by his support. It is due to these two classes of intruders that much of the time of the manager of a subordinate bureau in

national headquarters is taken up in giving effect to the old nursery maxim, "Learn to say no." They are not the most good-natured sort of mortals either, these saviors of the party, with speeches in their minds and manuscripts under their arms. They usually repay the most courteous treatment with the declaration that the man who has been forced to look with disfavor on their proposition is sure to ruin the chances of his candidate at the polls.

As the whole purpose of conducting a campaign is to affect public sentiment, the chief methods adopted are platform-speaking and the use of type. The press bureau early in the campaign has its main importance. Then it seeks, by every device, to secure the publication in the newspapers of material favorable to the party which it serves ; and later, when the contest becomes warm, operates through leaflets, tracts, and printed speeches. Few people who read only the great city newspapers appreciate how much work is done, in political times, on the part of both parties, to counteract or to supplement the effect of the metropolitan press. The small country weeklies, which are taken into the home of the farmer a night or two after publication, are necessarily made up on the coöperative principle. Their revenues are small, and they either fill their columns by buying what is called "plate matter," which is ready-set and furnished in the form of stereotype plates, column-wide, or else they have one-half the paper printed at some central point, using the blank sides for publishing their local news. And both national committees utilize the firms which supply the plate or "patent inside" matter for the dissemination of their news. Each house which furnishes the ready print sends to its Democratic or Republican customers the statement that it will be glad

to furnish three or four or five columns of ready print each week. The copy for this is supplied by the press bureau of the National Committee. The paper gets it without other charge than that involved in printing the sheets. An immense amount of work is done in the way of furnishing this copy by both national committees, not only at the time of election, but for months preceding the convention.

I can speak only for the press bureau of the Democratic National Committee; but the statistics



HON. WILLIAM J. BRYAN.

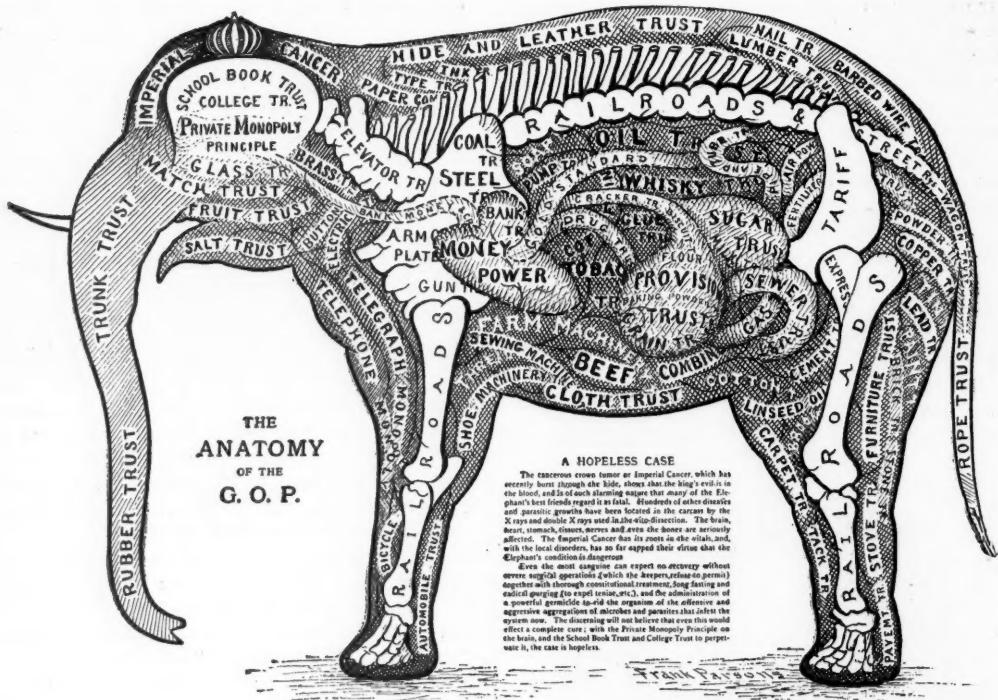
(The favorite portrait sent out by the National Democratic Committee.)

of its work may be regarded as fairly indicative of the work of its rival a hundred yards away in an adjoining hotel. Seven "patent-inside" houses, supplying some 4,000 weekly papers, have for more than a year been supplied with Democratic "copy." Plate matter has been but sparingly used, partly because of its expense, partly because of the impossibility of ascertaining with any accuracy the extent to which it is published by newspapers receiving it. A weekly bulletin addressed to the newspapers of the country is issued, containing news and interviews not readily accessible to the country editor, and editorials all ready to his hand—or shears. I have seen a whole page clipped from this bulletin and reprinted verbatim as the editorial page of a local weekly. Occasionally supplements, ready-printed, and covering fully the party position on some

mooted question, such as trusts or imperialism, are supplied to party papers without cost. Of several such offered to Democratic newspapers, more than 3,000,000 each were issued, and doubtful States only were covered.

A new burden was added this year to the load borne by the managers of the press bureaus by the Independent newspapers. Not wishing to espouse editorially the cause of either candidate, the editors of these newspapers hit, by common consent, upon the device of having the issues of the campaign discussed under the title of "Campaign Forum," or "Daily Debate." So they appealed to the managers of the respective press bureaus to supply the material, each for his own side—a demand that is new to politics and has necessitated a considerable increase in the literary force. Both parties, however, welcome it as giving an opportunity to put the party creed before voters whose minds are not fully made up. For example, in 1896, the Kansas City *Star* was bitterly opposed to Mr. Bryan, and its columns were closed to arguments in his favor. This year a joint discussion with Mr. Murat Halstead, of the Republican National Committee, has enabled me to place scores of columns of arguments before its readers. The numbers of the Independent papers are growing rapidly, and I foresee that in 1904 this branch of the press bureau's work will be of the greatest importance.

The press bureau furthermore usually has supervision over the preparation of documents; or, as they are commonly called, "literature." Of course, all speeches that get into the *Congressional Record* are sent without charge under frank through the mail, and these need no editing. But each committee gets out a mass of material pointing out the enormities perpetrated by the opposition party. These documents range from a one-page "dodger" to a book of 240 pages. Their preparation involves a great amount of work and the employment of many men; for in the aggregate they amount, in the course of a campaign, to more than one hundred separate documents. How great the volume of this material sent out is may be judged from the fact that a gentleman representing the shipping-room of the party with which I am not allied, here in Chicago, told me that one day they sent out three and a quarter tons of documents, and on the same day had received four and a half million copies of a single speech. Speaking of this to a Republican United States Senator whom I know intimately, he told me that it was not in any way a record-making performance; that, in the campaign of 1896, the Republican document-room was so well organized that, when a telegram was received from New York on a certain day at 10



True Inwardness of the Republican Elephant.

AN "ANTI-TRUST" DIAGRAM EMPLOYED BY THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC COMMITTEE.

(This drawing—the work of Prof. Frank Parsons—was printed on the back of 1,000,000 copies of Mr. Bryan's anti-trust address, and has also been extensively circulated in poster form.)

o'clock in the morning asking for a carload of assorted documents to be shipped at once, the documents were picked out, the car loaded and shipped by fast freight before 5 o'clock in the afternoon. The man who accomplished that feat had for four years been wholly out of that line of work. It would not be extraordinary for a great wholesale house like Marshall Field or Montgomery Ward & Co., whose shipping-office is always in order and active, to do a thing of that sort; but it does seem an extraordinary manifestation of organizing ability for such a feat to be accomplished after only three or four weeks' preparation.

At the time of writing this article, the Democratic National Committee has issued, or has under preparation, more than one hundred and fifty-eight different documents, of which over 25,000,000 have been distributed. I have seen a bundle of documents sent out by the Republicans which exceeded this number. Whether it was a complete list or not, I do not know. Every language spoken by civilized men is included in this list.

One speech of Mr. Bryan's, that on "Imperialism," has been put in not less than eleven languages by the Democratic Literary Bureau, and there hardly passes a day that there does not come a demand from some State chairman for this document in some other foreign language. Greek, Finnish, and Yiddish figure among the recent demands for foreign literature. The total number copies of this speech issued exceeded 8,000,000, and I have seen a report from Republican headquarters that more than 7,000,000 copies of President McKinley's letter of acceptance were circulated. I have no way of knowing what troubles beset the gentlemen who conduct the Republican Literary Bureau, but I have no doubt that they encounter the same pressure for literature in foreign tongues. We sometimes feel a natural exultation that the Indians are not permitted to vote, and that the committee is saved the expense of putting out documents in Choctaw and in Sioux.

One book of very considerable size, issued by each committee, is the "Campaign Text-Book,"

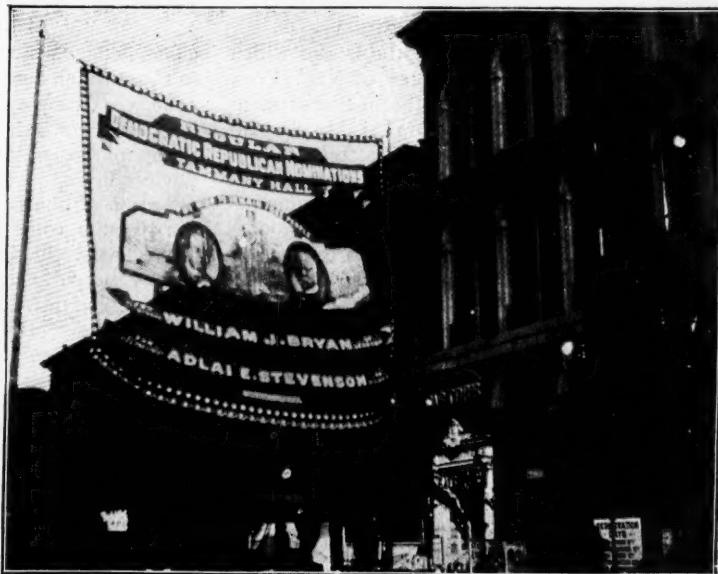
so called. This is supposed to furnish instruction to speakers and writers upon all the issues of the campaign, and forms usually a large quarto of some 340 pages. The Republicans this year have issued their book in a style which is both attractive and convenient. It represents, probably, the most expensive campaign-book ever prepared by a national committee. The circulation of these books is limited. They are intended only for distribution among the few who are called upon to act as instructors for the public. Both parties customarily put a price upon them to the general mass of voters.

As a rule, the material sent out by a national committee is distributed by State committees to the county committees, thence to local or precinct committeemen. Perhaps this is one reason why, even in the most hotly fought campaign, there are hundreds, and indeed hundreds of thousands, of voters who never receive a single document or pamphlet of any kind, and who form their ideas wholly from the newspapers. The chance is great that a county committeeman or a precinct committeeman receiving a bundle of several thousand documents may put them by the side of his desk with the very best intention of distributing them, and leave them there until the end of the campaign. This is a weakness in the system recognized by everybody engaged in political work, but one that seems impossible to correct, unless the whole documentary system be abandoned, and reliance placed on newspapers alone. I have no doubt that, among the readers of the *REVIEW OF REVIEWS* this month, there will be many who are voters even in doubtful States, and yet who cannot recall ever having had an official document from headquarters put in their hands.

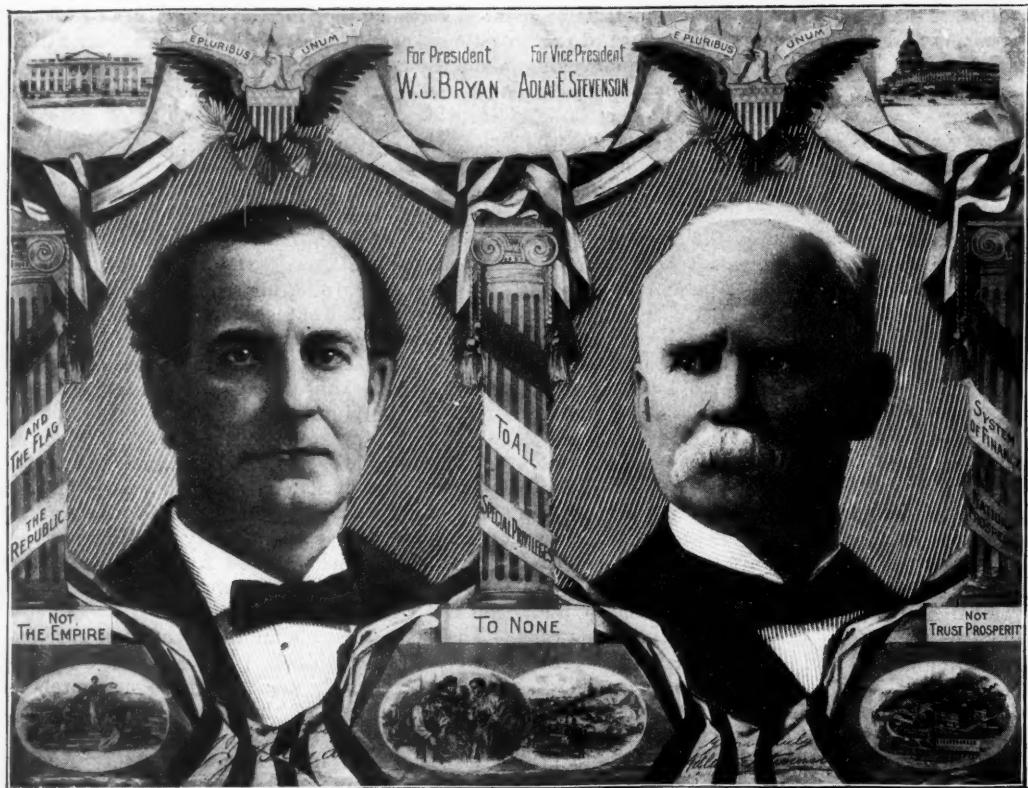
Not all the States are equally favored with oratory and that ponderous form of reading matter which politicians call "literature," but which Charles Lamb would surely have put in his list of books that are no books. A national committee will ordinarily classify the States in three divisions—doubtful, with the chances favoring its candidate; doubtful, with the chances favoring the opposition candidate; and abso-

lutely certain either for the Republican or Democratic ticket. The latter class gets scant attention, while the States of the first class are flooded with arguments. Perhaps there has never before been a year when so many States were regarded as doubtful. The Democrats, undismayed by the figures of 1896, have pressed their campaign vigorously in New York, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, West Virginia, Kentucky, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, Minnesota, and California; and, although all these States gave majorities hostile to Bryan in 1896, all are held to be doubtful this year except Kentucky and Maryland, which the Democracy claims positively for her own. The Republicans, in turn, have shown their audacity by attacking Nebraska, which gave Mr. Bryan 13,576 plurality in 1896; Colorado, which gave him 134,882 plurality out of total vote of 189,687, and Missouri, which gave him 58,727. Hope springs eternal in the politician's breast; and I doubt if any one at either headquarters will take issue with me when I say that the glowing "forecasts" which proceed from national chairmen and secretaries in the weeks preceding election are based mainly on hope.

The main struggle in this campaign has centered about New York, Indiana, Ohio, and Illinois. Mr. Bryan's managers have no apprehension of losing any of the States carried by him in 1896, though the Republicans have made determined forays into several—notably Kansas and South Dakota; nor have they doubted that they would carry Kentucky and Maryland.



THE DEMOCRATIC BANNER HANGING IN FRONT OF TAMMANY HALL, NEW YORK.



PORTRAIT POSTER CIRCULATED BY THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE.

(Original size, 31 x 24 inches.)

Added to the electoral votes of the States which they held to be safe, the votes of New York alone, or of any two of the Middle States mentioned, would give the election to Mr. Bryan. I do not mean that other possible States, such as Michigan or Minnesota, are being neglected; but the center of the line of battle is in these commonwealths. How thoroughly this is appreciated is to be judged from the fact that into New York have been sent 4,000,000 documents; into Indiana 2,500,000, and into Ohio 3,500,000, while every speaker of national reputation in the land has gone up and down these States pleading for converts.

After all, however, I doubt much whether even the hard work, the systematic work, the astute political devices upon which the politicians so greatly rely, really have as much weight in deciding the fate of an election as people who live entirely in a political atmosphere sometimes think. The success or failure of a candidate for office, and particularly for an exalted national

office, depends very much upon conditions similar to those which determine the success or failure of a book. Many a good book well pushed by its publisher has fallen flat. Many a book of less merit, published without any of the log-rolling devices in vogue to-day, has happily caught the attention of the public, and has rushed ahead to its 400,000 copies. It is somewhat so with a Presidential election. Admitting all the use of money properly and corruptly; admitting that this campaign manager is cleverer than his opponent, still you will find that rising above either of these factors comes, as the determining element in the situation, the temper of the public. Doubtless the newspapers, the documents, and the speakers help, in some slight degree, to form this public sentiment; but if it be against one candidate, the most herculean efforts on the part of his managers cannot stem it. If it be for him, all his associates have to do is to guide it rightly and see that its expression at the polls is correctly recorded.

THE HALL OF FAME.

BY CHANCELLOR HENRY MITCHELL MACCRACKEN.

(Of New York University.)

THE Hall of Fame, like many another fruit of civilization, owes its inception in large part to hard facts of physical geography. After the three buildings which are to form the west side of the quadrangle of the New York University College of Arts and Science at University Heights had been planned, it was decided, in order to enlarge the quadrangle, to push them as near as possible to the avenue above the Harlem River. But since the campus level is 170 feet above high tide, and from 40 to 60 feet above the avenue, it was seen at once that the basement stories would stand out towards the avenue bare and unsightly. In order to conceal their walls, a terrace was suggested by the architect, to be bounded at its outer edge by a parapet or colonnade; and, since the terrace would be entirely above ground, it would provide large space underneath. But to what educational use could such a structure be adapted? What reason could be given therefor besides the esthetic effect? The added beauty might be sufficient to justify, to an architect, the great cost; but it could not do this to the officers of a university that was comparatively poor in resources. While the topographical necessity, therefore, compelled the architect to invent the terrace with its parapet or colonnade, the university's necessity compelled

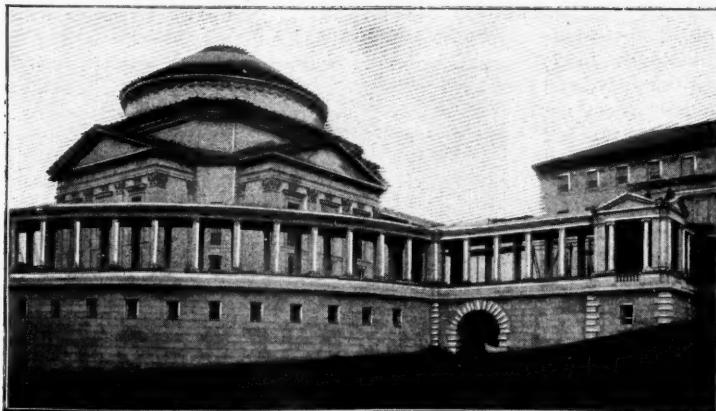
the discovery of an educational use for the architect's structure. This use was found when the writer, as chairman of the Building Committee, conceived that the space beneath the terrace, together with the colonnade above, might easily be adapted to constitute together "The Hall of Fame for Great Americans."

Like most persons who have visited Germany, the chairman was acquainted with the "Ruhmes Halle," built near Munich by the King of Bavaria. Like all Americans, he admired the use made of Westminster Abbey, and of the Pantheon in Paris. But the American claims liberty to adopt new and broad rules to govern him, even when following on the track of his Old-World ancestors. Hence it was agreed that admission to this Hall of Fame should be controlled by a national body of electors, who might, as nearly as possible, represent the wisdom of the American people. This idea was made the first article of the "Constitution of the Hall of Fame."

The second feature was the recognition of the multiformity of human greatness. The thoughtful visitor is offended when he sees, in the Hall of Statuary in Washington, to which each State is invited to contribute two statues of eminent citizens, that every man thus far honored, with a single eccentric exception, has been a holder of

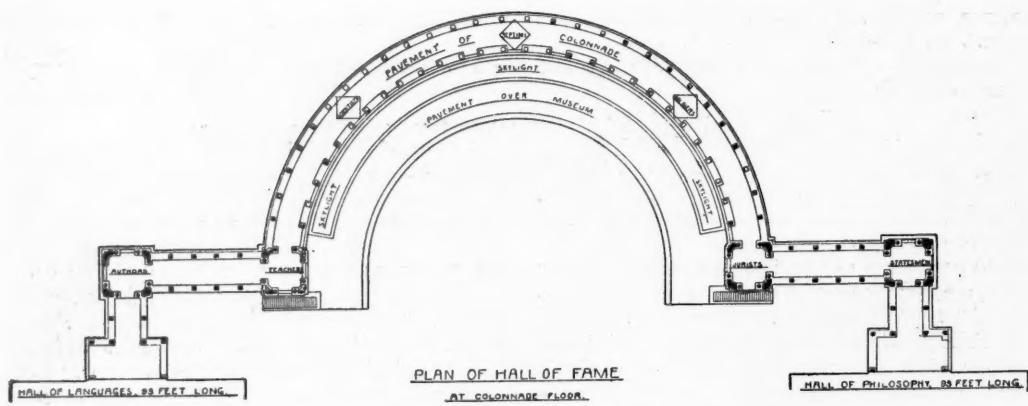
public office, either military or civil. For the Hall of Fame it was provided, therefore, that many classes of citizens, not less than fifteen, should be considered, and that a majority of these classes should have representatives among the first fifty names to be chosen. This precedent once established will, it is hoped, prevent the electors in all time to come from forgetting that greatness may be attained in many walks of life.

The third chief feature was the restriction of the hall to native-born Americans. Since this has been more severely criticised than any other of the rules adopted, it



THE HALL OF FAME OF NEW YORK UNIVERSITY.

(The hall itself is the colonnade shown in the foreground, the museum being underneath. The library building of the university is shown in the background, and on the extreme right the Hall of Languages.)



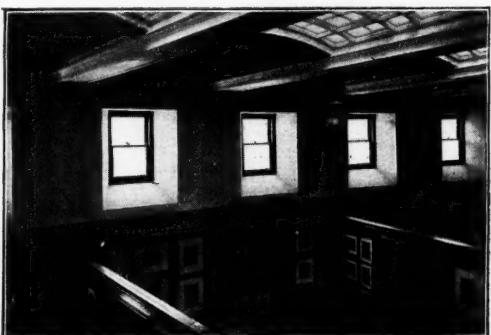
GROUND PLAN OF THE HALL OF FAME.

(Total exterior length of colonnade, 504 feet; height, 20 feet; breadth, 16 feet. Length of museum, exclusive of entrance corridors, 200 feet; breadth, 40 feet; height of ceiling, 18 feet. All names outside the six principal classes are included as of the seventh class—"Septimt.")

is expedient to present the arguments that justify this restriction. This may be done most easily by recounting the difficulties in which the 100 electors would have been involved had they been obliged to take into consideration all the eminent foreign-born Americans. It is true that prominent Harvard professors suggested that only those foreign-born should be considered who were citizens at the time of the adoption of the Constitution. Their great care was to secure the admission of Alexander Hamilton. But how could Hamilton be considered, and not his contemporaries, John Witherspoon and Albert Gallatin; nor the foreign-born generals of the Revolution, and John Paul Jones. Why discriminate in favor of political characters against such builders of the nation as Francis Makemie or Francis Asbury? The former was the "St. Francis" of Presbyterianism, who for conscience' sake, in the year 1707, suffered in a prison-cell in New York City, and who is counted the American founder of a great denomination; the latter was the "St. Francis" of Methodism, who in forty-five years ordained 4,000 preachers, while he traveled over 250,000 miles; and that before the time of railways. Or why ignore the Pilgrim Fathers? The 100 electors found last summer that it involved serious labor to choose among the native-born. What if they had been obliged to weigh the claims of John Winthrop and Roger Williams against those of Daniel Boone and Marcus Whitman? Suppose that they had, in doing so, preferred foreign-born to native Americans, would it not have been in large part out of that hospitality to strangers of which we are proud? Or, if they had rejected the foreign-born, would not the electors have been suspected of "Know-Nothing"

prejudice, with which not a few Americans have been deeply affected? The present rule shuns all these comparisons which might, to use the language of Shakespeare, have proven "odorous."

The giver of the Hall of Fame prizes no feature of its plan more than this rule, which is designed to make the structure an especial reminder to Americans of how many, and also of how few, our country has raised up, in its 250 years of existence, as eminent leaders or benefactors of mankind. This hall, together with the processes which it sets in motion, will necessitate a frequent "taking of stock," or national inventory. This inventory can be secured with greater fairness and completeness if the 100 electors are permitted to choose among persons of common birth, who owe nothing (unless by their own



VIEW IN THE MUSEUM OF THE HALL OF FAME

(The height is 18 feet. The upper half of the wall-surface, where not broken by windows, is available for mural paintings, to a length of perhaps 300 feet altogether. There is a continuous skylight eight feet in breadth.)



Dr. Clarence D. Ashley.

Chancellor Henry M. MacCracken.

Dr. Edward R. Shaw.

Courtesy of the New York Tribune.

COMMITTEE OF THE NEW YORK UNIVERSITY SENATE COUNTING THE VOTES.

choice) to foreign training; who, in a word, are from first to last Americans. The rumor that the rule which includes the foreign-born would exclude also those who might die abroad was a humorous invention of the dull season last summer. It was never even thought of in connection with the agreement made between the giver of the hall and the university corporation.

The fourth chief feature of the plan of inscription is periodicity. Every five years throughout the twentieth century five additional names will be inscribed, provided the electors under the rules can agree by a majority upon so many. There is no excessive veneration, on the part of us Americans, for our forefathers. So far as may be, this hall asks the people to consider repeatedly whom among the fathers they would be delighted to honor. It employs the principle of repetition to promote reverence for true worth.

To the above four chief features may be added, as the fifth important one, the reposing of the responsibility of supervision in the New York University Senate. This body appoints the 100 electors throughout the country, canvasses their

reports, and has the right of veto upon their choice. This veto simply returns the name for farther consideration. It does not prevent the electors presenting it again at the next time of election. Observation shows that universities, beyond any other foundations, maintain a uniform and enduring existence. The deans of schools and senior professors who constitute a university senate are generally chosen with care, and have been tested by years of experience. They are as likely as any human organization to be careful and consistent in such work as they are called upon to perform. The New York University Senate is peculiarly liberal in that it includes in its membership the presidents of six great theological schools situated in or near the metropolis. But let it be observed that after the University Senate has appointed the electors, who must under the rule be distributed throughout the nation, its office becomes merely negative or clerical. It cannot add a name to those inscribed. It cannot change any of the articles of the contract which governs the hall for all time. These can be changed only by the com-

mon action of the university and the giver, during the lifetime of the latter.

This constitution being provided for the governing of the Hall of Fame, the senate proceeded, on April 3 last, to secure 100 electors, and it adopted the following action regarding them:

First. They are apportioned to the following four classes of citizens, in as nearly equal numbers as possible: (A) University or college presidents and educators. (B) Professors of history and scientists. (C) Publicists, editors, and authors. (D) Judges of the Supreme Court, State or National.

Second. Each of the forty-five States is included in the appointments. When in any State no one from the first three classes is named, the Chief Justice of the State is invited to act.

Third. Only citizens born in America are invited to act as judges. No one connected with New York University is invited.

The senate was gratified to find that its invitation to every university and college president was accepted, and that to secure the full quota in the other classes it was obliged to exercise a second choice in only a very few cases. One of these was the case of President Benjamin Harris, who gave as his sole reason that he would feel bound, if he served, to give much study to the nominations before making a decision, and that his engagements did not allow him time for the work before the date set for the report.*

*The Board of Electors, as at present constituted, is as follows:

(A) University and College Presidents: E. A. Alderman, Tulane; James B. Angell, Michigan; John H. Barrows, Oberlin; W. S. Chaplin, Washington University (St. Louis); William H. Crawford, Allegheny; James R. Day, Syracuse; Charles W. Eliot, Harvard; W. H. P. Faunce, Brown; George A. Gates, Iowa College; Arthur T. Hadley, Yale; C. C. Harrison, University of Pennsylvania; Miss Caroline Hazard, Wellesley; William De Witt Hyde, Bowdoin; David Starr Jordan, Leland Stanford; J. H. Kirkland, Vanderbilt; Seth Low, Columbia; Henry Morton, Stevens Institute; Mrs. Alice F. Palmer, ex-president Wellesley; Henry Wade Rogers, Northwestern; David S. Schaff, Lane Theological Seminary; James M. Taylor, Vassar; Miss M. Carey Thomas, Bryn Mawr; Charles F. Thwing, Western Reserve; William J. Tucker, Dartmouth; George Washburn, Robert College, Constantinople—(25).

(B) Professors of History, and Scientists: Henry C. Adams, Michigan; Charles M. Andrews, Bryn Mawr; Frank W. Blackmar, Kansas; Edward G. Bourne, Yale; Henry E. Bourne, Western Reserve; George J. Brush, Sheffield Scien-

Next the senate proceeded to place nominations before the electors, adopting on June 4, 1900, the three following rules:

First. The University Senate seconds the nomination of each of the 100 names received that rank first in the number of persons who have put them in nomination.

Second. The individual members of the senate will each second additional names selected by him from the names (more than 1,000) placed in nomination.

Third. The senate invites each of the 100 judges, upon receiving the roll of nominations contemplated in the two foregoing resolutions, to transmit to us any other name which he considers should be submitted to the judges, which name will at once be seconded by the senate and forwarded to the judges as an additional nomination.

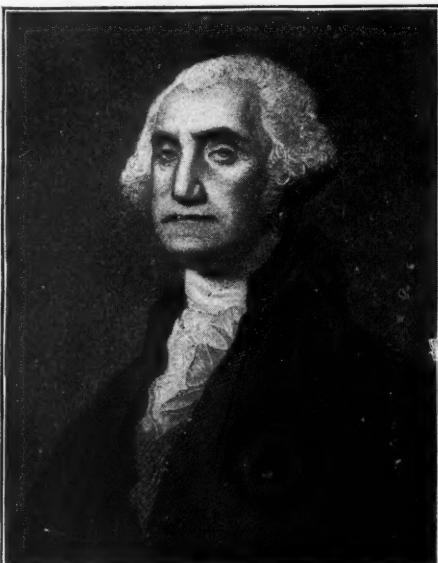
The result was that 234 names were sent out to the electors. Eight hundred additional names that were presented to the senate were withheld by them under the rules. Several of the electors failed, because of their change of residence during the summer, to receive the invitation to add nominations. Only 20 electors availed themselves of this right, adding some 30 or 40 names. Without doubt, other names might very

appropriately have been added.

Of the 100 electors, 97 made reports within the time allowed, which were canvassed by the officers of the senate, on October 10, 11, and

tific School; John W. Burgess, Columbia; Edward Channing, Harvard; Richard H. Dabney, Virginia; Clyde A. Dunaway, Leland Stanford; Fred M. Flings, Nebraska; B. A. Hinsdale, Michigan; Charles W. Hunt, New York City; J. F. Jameson, Brown; Harry P. Judson, Chicago; Joseph Le Conte, California; A. C. McLaughlin, Michigan; J. H. T. McPherson, Georgia; Anson D. Morse, Amherst; Edward C. Pickering, Harvard; Rossiter W. Raymond, New York City; Thomas J. Shahan, Catholic University; Robert D. Shepard, Northwestern; George F. Swain, Massachusetts Institute of Technology; William H. Welsh, Johns Hopkins; W. M. West, Minnesota—(26).

(C) Publicists, Editors, and Authors: John S. Billings, New York; Borden P. Bowne, Boston; James M. Buckley, Madison, N. J.; Grover Cleveland, Princeton, N. J.; George F. Edmunds, Philadelphia; Edward Eggleston, Madison, Ind.; George P. Fisher, New Haven, Conn.; Richard Watson Gilder, New York; Edward Everett Hale, Roxbury, Mass.; Albert B. Hart, Cambridge, Mass.; Thomas W. Higgins, Cambridge, Mass.; John F. Hurst, Washington; St. Clair McKelway, Brooklyn; Philip V. Myers, Cincinnati; George E. Post, Beirut, Syria (no report); Whitelaw



GEORGE WASHINGTON.

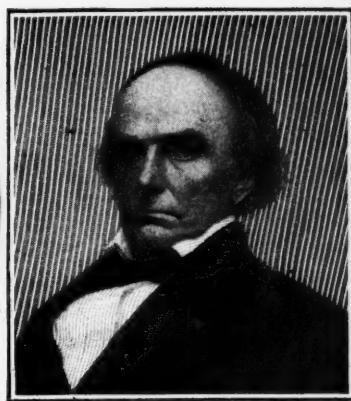
(1732-1799.)



ULYSSES S. GRANT.
(1822-1885.)



ABRAHAM LINCOLN.
(1809-1865.)



DANIEL WEBSTER.
(1782-1852.)

12. The senate acted upon the report of its officers by adopting the following resolution :

First. The 29 names that have each received the approval of 51 or more electors shall be inscribed in the Hall of Fame.

Second. The cordial thanks of the Senate of New York University are returned to each of the electors for this service rendered to the public. While it has demanded no little thought and acceptance of responsibility on their part, it must receive abundant reward in the knowledge of important aid given thereby to the cause of education, particularly among the youth of America.

Third. The official book of the Hall of Fame, the publication of which is authorized by the senate, shall be sent to each of the 100 electors as a memento of this service.

Fourth. The senate will take action in the year 1902, under the rules of the Hall of Fame, toward filling at that time the vacant panels belonging to the present year, being 21 in number.

Fifth. The Senate invites each member of the present Board of Electors to serve as an elector in 1902. Should any one of the present board have laid down his educational or public office, his successor may, by preference, be invited to serve in 1902.

Reid, New York; James F. Rhodes, Boston; Theodore Roosevelt, Albany, N. Y. (no report); Albert Shaw, New York; William M. Sloane, New York; Edmund C. Stedman, New York; Moses Coit Tyler, Ithaca, N. Y.; Anson J. Upson, Glens Falls, N. Y.; Charles Dudley Warner, Hartford, Conn.; Andrew D. White, Berlin, Germany (no report); Woodrow Wilson, Princeton, N. J.—(26).

(D) Supreme Court Judges, State or National: G. W. Bartsch, Utah; J. M. Bartholomew, North Dakota; M. S. Bonnifield, Nevada; Theodore Brantley, Montana; David J. Brewer, Washington, D. C.; John Campbell, Colorado; J. B. Cassiday, Wisconsin; Dighton Corson, South Dakota; M. H. Dent, West Virginia; W. T. Faircloth, North Carolina; Melville W. Fuller, Washington, D. C.; R. R. Gaines, Texas; J. H. Hazelrig, Kentucky; James Keith, Virginia; T. N. McClellan, Alabama; F. T. Nicholls, Louisiana; J. R. Nicholson, Delaware; T. L. Norval, Nebraska; C. N. Potter, Wyoming; C. M. Start, Minnesota; R. F. Taylor, Florida; C. E. Wolverton, Oregon; T. H. Woods, Mississippi—(23).

Sixth. Each nomination of the present year to the Hall of Fame that has received the approval of ten or more electors, yet has failed to receive a majority, will be considered a nomination for the year 1902. To these shall be added any name nominated in writing by five of the Board of Electors. Also other names may be nominated by the New York University Senate in such way as it may find expedient. Any nomination by any citizen of the United States that shall be addressed to the New York University Senate shall be received and considered by that body.

The 29 names are as follows, in the order of preference shown them by the 97 electors :

| | |
|----------------------------------|----|
| GEORGE WASHINGTON..... | 97 |
| ABRAHAM LINCOLN..... | 96 |
| DANIEL WEBSTER..... | 96 |
| BENJAMIN FRANKLIN | 94 |
| ULYSSES S. GRANT..... | 92 |
| JOHN MARSHALL | 91 |
| THOMAS JEFFERSON..... | 90 |
| RALPH WALDO EMERSON..... | 87 |
| HENRY WADSWORTH LONGFELLOW | 85 |
| ROBERT FULTON | 85 |
| WASHINGTON IRVING..... | 83 |
| JONATHAN EDWARDS | 81 |
| SAMUEL F. B. MORSE..... | 80 |
| DAVID GLASGOW FARRAGUT..... | 79 |
| HENRY CLAY..... | 74 |
| NATHANIEL HAWTHORNE | 73 |
| GEORGE PEABODY | 73 |
| ROBERT E. LEE | 69 |
| PETER COOPER | 69 |
| ELI WHITNEY | 67 |
| JOHN JAMES AUDUBON | 67 |
| MARY GRACE MANN..... | 67 |
| HENRY WARD BEECHER..... | 66 |
| JAMES KENT | 65 |
| JOSEPH STORY | 64 |
| JOHN ADAMS..... | 61 |
| WILLIAM ELLERY CHANNING..... | 58 |
| GILBERT STUART..... | 52 |
| ASA GRAY..... | 51 |



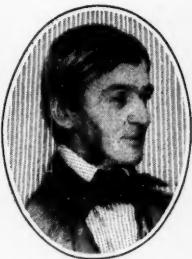
BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.
(1706-1790.)



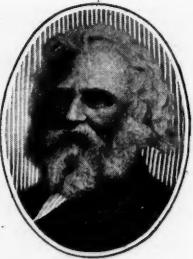
JOHN MARSHALL.
(1755-1835.)



THOMAS JEFFERSON.
(1743-1826.)



RALPH W. EMERSON.
(1803-1882.)



H. W. LONGFELLOW.
(1807-1882.)

The senate farther took note of the many requests that foreign-born Americans should be considered, by adopting a memorial to the University Corporation, as follows :

The New York University Senate, for a number of reasons, cordially approves the strict limitation of the Hall of Fame to native-born Americans. At the same time it would welcome a similar memorial to foreign-born Americans, as follows :

A new edifice to be joined to the north porch of the present hall, with harmonious architecture, to contain one-fifth of the space of the present hall; that is, not over thirty panels, ten to be devoted, the first year, to the commemoration of ten foreign-born Americans who have been dead for at least ten years—an additional panel to be devoted to one name every five years throughout the twentieth century. We believe that less than one-fifth of the cost of the edifice now being builded would provide this new hall; and that, neither in conspicuity nor in the landscape which it would command, would it in any way fall behind the present one.

It is proper now that we turn from the ideal to the material. What visible and tangible memorial in the Hall of Fame will be given to each name that has been chosen? A very simple memento, we answer, has been promised by the university. As soon as the colonnade is completed, we shall select, for each of the 29 names, a panel of stone in the parapets at the side. In this the name will be carved at full length, together with the date of birth and of death—as, for example :

HENRY WADSWORTH LONGFELLOW

1807-1882

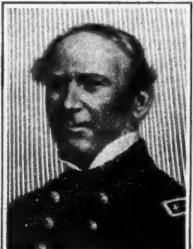
The panels will be distributed among the classes into which the names are divided. For example, next the Hall of Languages is the "Authors' Corner," with its pavilion. This will receive the names of Emerson, Longfellow, Irving, and Hawthorne. Next that is the "Teachers' Corner" and pavilion. To this will be assigned the Preachers' also—Edwards, Beecher, Channing, and Horace Mann. One-quarter of the way round the curve are the Scientists', together with the Inventors'. Here will be Audubon and Gray; Fulton, Morse, and Whitney. At the north end, in like manner, is the "Statesmen's Corner." Here are Washington, Lincoln, Webster, Franklin, Jefferson, Clay, and John Adams. Next is the "Jurists' Corner," with Marshall, Kent, and Story. The soldiers' quarters are south of these, with Grant, Farragut, and Lee. In the center of the curved colonnade is a seventh division, to include all others. This will be marked by the Latin word "*Septimi.*" Here will be the philanthropists, George Peabody and Peter Cooper, and the painter, Gilbert Stuart. The name of each of the seven divisions is recorded in brass letters, in a diamond of Tennessee marble, set in the center of the pavement.



WASHINGTON IRVING.
(1783-1859.)



JONATHAN EDWARDS.
(1703-1758.)



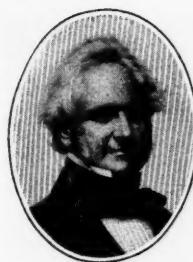
DAVID G. FARRAGUT.
(1801-1870.)



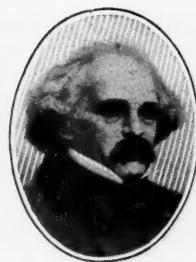
SAMUEL F. B. MORSE.
(1791-1872.)



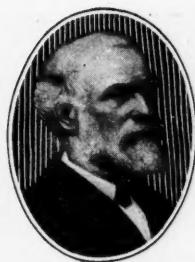
HENRY CLAY.
(1777-1852.)



GEORGE PEABODY.
(1795-1869.)



NATHANIEL HAWTHORNE.
(1804-1864.)



ROBERT E. LEE.
(1807-1870.)



HORACE MANN.
(1796-1859.)



PETER COOPER.
(1791-1883.)

Further, the university provides admirable positions in the colonnade for bronze statues or busts of those whose names are chosen.

On the ground-floor of the hall is a noble provision of a corridor of 200 feet in length, with five large rooms, whose ultimate and exclusive use is to be the preservation of mementos of those whose names are inscribed above. These mementos will doubtless consist of portraits of the persons, with marble busts or tablets, autographs, and the thousand-and-one memorials which vividly call to mind the departed great. A quaint vase has already been contributed to the museum, which commemorates, by engraved figures, the work in science performed by Franklin, Fulton, and Morse. Probably the most important feature of the museum in future years will be the mural paintings. The Society of Mural Painters has carefully examined these rooms, and has presented a memorial to the university in which they record their conclusions. This is signed by the members of the Committee on civic buildings, — Joseph Lauber, chairman; John La Farge, president of the society, *ex-officio* member; Kenyon Cox, secretary; George W. Maynard, Edwin H. Blashfield, and C. Y. Turner. The paper, in part, is as follows:

The committee on civic buildings of the National Society of Mural Painters, having carefully considered the possibilities of the embellishment of the museum

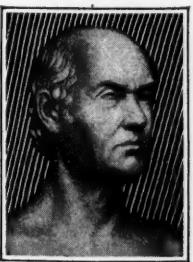
of the Hall of Fame by appropriate mural painting, hereby makes the following suggestions:

That it is eminently fitting that, in a commemoration of national greatness such as the Hall of Fame, the three great arts,—Architecture, Sculpture, and Mural Painting,—should collaborate, not only to perpetuate the memory of the great men of the nation for all time, but also to serve as an example of monumental art in America of to-day. . . .

In looking over the wall-spaces of the museum of the Hall of Fame, we find that there is an excellent opportunity for the exercise of the mural art, the architect of the structure having provided a frieze-line of over six feet in height, extending throughout the entire edifice and interrupted by partitions and windows. We find the divisions of space as they are, excellent, as they will serve to separate the depiction of one subject from another. We would suggest that, if the authorities of the New York University decide on the mural embellishment of this structure, the central gallery, which has the largest uninterrupted frieze-line, be taken up first, and a *painting be placed here, chiefly allegorical, typifying American progress, the Ideals of the nation, and its place in the history of civilization.* Right and left of this, on the side-walls and in the adjoining galleries, the work on the walls may have a more direct bearing on the men and their achievements, according to the space allotted to the various representatives of the nation's greatness in the museum. . . .

Then, as we understand, it is desired to set apart spaces in this museum for relics and memorials of these men; the rooms should have a direct bearing on the achievements of the men memorialized, whether the treatment is allegorical, historical, or individual.

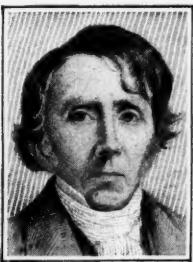
Even in allegory, this can be beautifully done; there



JOSEPH STORY.
(1779-1845.)



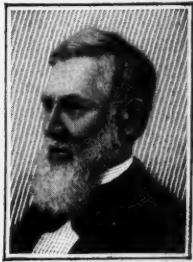
JOHN ADAMS.
(1735-1826.)



WILLIAM E. CHANNING.
(1780-1842.)



GILBERT STUART.
(1755-1828.)



ASA GRAY.
(1810-1888.)



ROBERT FULTON.
(1765-1815.)



JOHN J. AUDUBON.
(1780-1851.)



ELI WHITNEY.
(1765-1825.)



HENRY WARD BEECHER.
(1813-1887.)



JAMES KENT.
(1763-1847.)

need be no vagueness in the significance of the artist's work.

Unfortunately, the university being compelled to use all its efforts on behalf of its ordinary educational work, can lend no energy to the securing of means for the decoration of the Hall of Fame, beyond statements like the present. We offer the abundant space provided by the generosity of the giver of the edifice. When the hall, including only the colonnade and the museum, shall have been completed by the close of winter, it will have cost a little more than \$250,000. It is, by itself, a most delightful memorial to great Americans—not only in its architecture and the names inscribed, but also in the surpassing landscape which it commands throughout its 500 feet of length. The historic heights of Fort Washington, where one of the fiercest Revolutionary battles was fought; the Hudson and the Palisades, the Harlem and the Speedway—are in view. Close by are noble trees belonging to the park recently established by the city. Through this sloping University Park will be a popular approach to the hall from the west. From the east and the future rapid-transit road, the visitor will come to the hall through the college campus and the "Mall." The Hall of Fame must be visited to be known, for it can be represented by no photograph. In order merely to read the eight connected inscriptions upon the eight pediments, the sightseer must go

around the exterior of the entire structure, front and rear, a full quarter-mile. He will find the object and the reason of the edifice described in the carved words, which chance to be precisely the same in number as the great names that the Hall of Fame will command to the people of the Twentieth Century. The 29 words are as follows :

THE HALL OF FAME

FOR GREAT AMERICANS

BY WEALTH OF THOUGHT

OR ELSE BY MIGHTY DEED

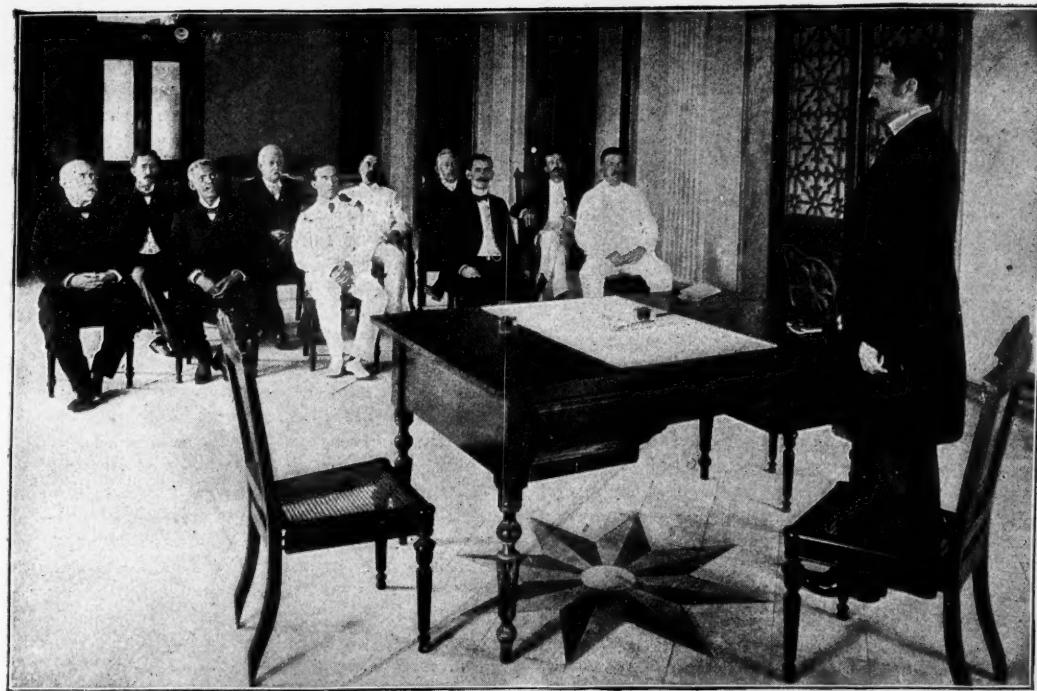
THEY SERVED MANKIND

IN NOBLE CHARACTER

IN WORLD-WIDE GOOD

THEY LIVE FOREVERMORE





(Names from left to right.)

| | | | | | | | | |
|-------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------------------|----------------------|
| Mr. Matienzo. (Rep.) | Mr. Camunas. (Fed.) | Dr. Barbosa. (Rep.) | Mr. Crosias. (Ind.) | Dr. Hollander. (Treas.) | Mr. Garrison. (Auditor.) | Mr. De Diego. (Fed.) | Mr. Elliott. (Sec'y of Interior.) | Mr. Hunt. (Pres.) |
|-------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------------------|----------------------|

THE PORTO RICAN EXECUTIVE COUNCIL IN THE THRONE-ROOM OF THE PALACE.

(This photograph was taken before the arrival of Dr. Brumbaugh, and Mr. Russell, the attorney-general.)

THE POLITICAL BEGINNINGS IN PORTO RICO.

BY JOHN FINLEY.

(Of Princeton University.)

THE people of Porto Rico call their highest mountain "El Yunque," the anvil; and they might very properly now give that name to the entire island, for it is an anvil on which two civilizations, two peoples, with diverse traditions, are being welded. The fires have been blazing in the forges for months, and the legislative hammering has begun. It was my fortune to be on the island when the first blows were struck to this welding.

I reached San Juan, "the capital," just on the eve of the assembling of the executive council to begin its legislative work; for its functions partake both of the executive and the legislative. Six of its members, citizens all of the United States, are insular executive officers. Sitting, by virtue of their office, with five native members, also appointed by the President, they con-

stitute the upper legislative chamber. At present this is the only chamber; for the popular, elective body will not be organized until after the elections, which are to be held in November. This upper house has two exclusive functions under the act of its establishment: first, the districting of the island for election purposes and the enactment of election laws; and, second, the granting of franchises. But only in these initial matters is it independent of the lower house. Its consent is necessary to the enactment of all other laws; but the popular body, to consist exclusively of native members, may itself prevent any legislation which it considers not for the best interests of the island. It will thus be seen that the legislative machinery is not structurally unlike that which is made for the "Territories;" nor does the relationship of the Porto

Rican to it appear to be in fact different from that of the citizen of Arizona or Alaska to his Territorial government, whatever it may be in theory, and whatever the constitutional status of the former may be.

The assembling of this body was without demonstration. There was no more pomp or ceremony than if it were a meeting of a college faculty or of a board of railroad directors. Eleven men sat, with less than a dozen onlookers, in the throne-room of the palace where absolutism had, for generations, attracted and awed by its splendor. They were to begin the welding. The shield of Porto Rico, bearing the emblems of Spain, still looked out from beneath the ceiling, and there was only a lone flag of Stars and Stripes hanging at the end of the hall as visible symbol of the new order of things. Some of the members of Spanish descent wore an air of dignity in keeping with the courtly association of the chamber, and quite in contrast with the unconcerned manner, the easy posture, and *négligée* garb of most of the Americans, who might, from all appearances, be assembled to the duties of a farmers' institute. To be frank, I felt that there was perhaps hardly enough deference to the proud past of the brave little island which the French, the English, and the Dutch had all in vain bombarded. But then I was fresh from the outside.

If any one has visions of "carpet-baggers" in sinecures, an introduction to the members of this council who have been sent to the island would dispel them; for a more capable, high-minded group of men it would be difficult to gather to such a task as theirs. They are in a diving-bell amid wreckage; but they are working indefatigably, and it may be said in parenthesis that they need all the pure air we can pump into the tube at this end.

The chairman is Judge William Hunt, the secretary of the island, chosen president for his evident and eminent fitness for the position. His patience seems to be equal to the extraordinary demands upon it, but it has not softened his will when firmness is needed. There is no "lackeying to the varying tide." Some of his wisdom for such varied tasks as come to him he has inherited, I fancy, from ancestors who have performed like service for England, and much he has gotten from his experience in judicial and public life.

The young man of dark visage and immaculate dress is Dr. Hollander, the treasurer of the island. He was taken from his professorship at the Johns Hopkins University, and sent down to the island as a special commissioner to report upon a system of revenue; but he was found to be so valuable a man in this field that, against

his own desire and in the face of his protest, he was kept there as treasurer, and set at the receipt of custom. Tax-gatherers became his students. Perhaps no one there has a more trying or disagreeable task; for it is only through the taxes that the government touches the most of the people. His work, immensely difficult to begin with, was augmented by the absconding of some of the old collectors, by the policy already entered upon of remitting taxes to all who had suffered from the devastating hurricane of a year ago (and nearly all asked for rebates), and by the disturbance of the recent change in currency; but in spite of all the difficulties which the department has had to encounter, the assessments are being equalized, a greater proportion of the taxes assessed is collected, and all that is collected gets into the treasury—a new experience.

Another young official with a vexing task is the attorney-general. He has sacrificed considerable business interests out in Illinois to give his days and nights to reconciling a system of law that holds a man guilty until proved innocent with one that presumes innocence until the guilt is established. There is relief in sight, however; for while I was there the commissioners from the United States arrived to begin, with one Porto Rican member, the local study and codification of the laws.

The member whose opportunities are the greatest is the commissioner of education, for it is only through the instruction of the children and youth that we can hope to exert much influence upon the life of the island. Dr. Brumbaugh's experience and shoulders are fortunately broad for his new work. It is his giant form that is first to rise, when petitions are in order, to present the first petition laid before the council, asking for an increase of the appropriation for the new normal school, toward which the people of Fajardo had privately contributed, as a bonus, \$20,000. I saw him last, in the midst of his executive duties, one burning August afternoon, perspiring, hatless and coatless, directing the transformation of an orphanage in San Juan into a high-school building, to be opened to its new uses in October. All I learned concerning the two older members was that the auditor was overworked, and that the minister of the interior was efficient in attending to the multifarious duties of his department.

So much I have stopped to say of these men that those who cannot see for themselves may know how well and faithfully we are represented in this miniature State 500 leagues away.

Of the five native members appointed by the President, one also gets a favorable impression. Two are members of the Federal party—one a

young, able lawyer from the western part of the island, the other a gentleman of means from the eastern district, both men of culture, educated, I am told, in the Spanish universities, of dignified bearing, but courteous in manner and agile in oral fencing. Two are of the Republican party—one who has the appearance of a substantial man of business and comes from Ponce, the other a physician of prominence in San Juan, who had his training in the University of Michigan Medical School; and the fifth an "independent" (that is, independent of the two dominant parties)—a prominent and influential citizen of the island, who spent many years in the United States as a young man, and was a soldier during the Civil War. Among the interesting incidents of the sessions were the remarks of this member, spoken first in English to the American members, and then in Spanish to the Porto Ricans. The others used the interpreter, though the Republican physician spoke sometimes in the one tongue and sometimes in the other.

There seem to be no clearly marked issues between the two parties, though recent reports indicate that efforts are being made to associate the Federal with the Democratic party in the United States. Both the local parties desire a greater measure of freedom in municipal government; both advocate the early organization of the island as a Territory of the United States. There is, so far as I could learn, no considerable sentiment in favor of the independence of the island. This would be disastrous to its business interests, at least, it is felt, and would discourage the investment of American capital in the development of its resources. But the Federals have not assumed an altogether sympathetic attitude toward the Government. In the council the two members of this party played from the first the rôle of obstructionists. It is difficult to credit them with entire sincerity in their opposition, which seemed rather childish and trivial; but it should be remembered that the Latin traditions are back of these men, and that they may have had real difficulty in coming to the Saxon point of view. The first objection was made, in the adoption of the by-laws, to the section giving the sergeant-at-arms power, with which he is invested by all legislative bodies in the United States, to arrest an absent member upon the call of the house, and bring him into its presence—one argument being that it did not comport with the office of councilor that he should be subject to such an indignity. But the opposition had a dramatic climax when the plan for districting the island, suggested by the independent member and recommended by a majority of the spe-

cial committee, which consisted of the five native members, came up for discussion. The American members all supported the plan recommended. The two Federal members of the council, unable to secure the adoption of their plan of apportionment, withdrew from the council after an impassioned speech by the leader, whose sentiments were indorsed by his associate, and sent their resignations to the President of the United States. The speech of Mr. de Diego was delivered in Spanish, and with great fervor and effect. I have only the English translation, for whose correctness I cannot vouch:

I cannot restrain myself at this hour from giving utterance to my feelings before this council and before my people. I am to-day under the influence of an immense sorrow; but probably the occurrence of this meeting, which I consider to be unfortunate for the country, may be fortunate for me, because I shall probably go away forever from the scene of these base political struggles, which so belittle the heart and intelligence of humanity. Before parting, probably forever, therefrom, I want to give assurances of hope to my friends in the island. I believe that, with the plan of territorial division which has been approved here, that the Federal party will be victorious in the coming election; the justice of God is paramount to the justice of man. I bow before the resolutions of my countrymen, but I bow more before the justice of God.

This will give some notion of the political difficulties and of the temper of the minds that the pragmatic American is having to deal with. Unable to carry their own plan, the Federal members impute base motives to all who supported the other, and go forth themselves as martyrs to a principle when no principle is involved beyond that of common honesty. The event partakes of the melodramatic; but, in view of the treatment of the past centuries, it is excusable, and invites our sympathy rather than our ridicule or criticism.

But it is this temperament, reflected by the representatives; this disposition to refer every political act to a partisan motive, and the further disposition to use office not only for the reward of friends (as is not uncommon here), but for the punishment of political enemies, which causes many to doubt the wisdom of granting at present a larger measure of self-government.

The parties in Porto Rico, as I have said, are largely personal followings, and have some basis in social and racial distinctions. The people being of excitable temperament and rabidly partisan, when not apathetic, are likely to be unreasonable and violent in their animosities. Personal violence is not infrequent in this time of political heat preceding the election of members to the lower house, and several murders from political motives are reported. The leader of

the Federal party has himself suffered, according to reports, the loss of his printing-shop, which was demolished by the partisans of the Republican mayor of San Juan, whom he attacked in the columns of his paper. This violence is not due to anti-American feeling, but to inter-party enmity ; though it must be admitted that there is, from one cause or another, some dissatisfaction with the Government that is ; and this was, perhaps, to be expected. Some of it arises, as I have already intimated, from a disappointment that the Porto Ricans have not speedily been made citizens of the United States. Out in the country, it is due partly to the stoppage of relief, whose enjoyment some had doubtless come to look upon as a natural right.

It is idle to discuss what might have been ; and one is pardonably in doubt concerning the present and future even, in the midst of conflicting and confounding reports that have reached the United States as to the people, the climate, the soil, and all that in any way concerns our relations with the island. And the testimony was not less diverse even in San Juan. So I determined to see and hear for myself—to see not only the margins of this island, which have caught something of civilization from the passing ships, but the interior as well, where this same civilization, unaccustomed to trails and slow travel, has not penetrated.

"The capital" is beautiful as one approaches it from the ocean or looks upon its face from the bay ; but when one goes into it, if one has never been in a tropical city before, one is oppressed by the squalor, the seeming want of decency, the air of listlessness, and some other things. But I suppose a Porto Rican might make the same observation concerning some parts of any of our great cities. The streets, to be sure, are clean (kept so by convicts from the penitentiary just around the hill from the palace) ; but the overcrowding of house and court, the want of privacy which accompanies this overcrowding, the poor sanitary arrangements, and all that these physical conditions suggested, had a very depressing effect. I was glad to get away from the noises and the odors, the glare of the plazas, and the somberness of the throne-room; out into the mountains.

The aggregate of my travels on the island was about 300 miles, nearly 200 of which distance I covered on foot. The route was from San Juan over the deservedly famous military road, through Caguas, Cayey, Aibonito, and Coamo to Ponce ; thence through Adjuntas and Utuado to Arecibo on the north shore, back to San Juan, and then through the cane-fields to the eastern shore. I walked alone, for the most part, or with wander-

ing peons (for only they and the very poorest of them walk there) ; slept in village inns and huts (except for two nights, when I was entertained by American officers and engineers), and lived chiefly on eggs, native coffee, and bread. I was courteously, hospitably, received wherever I went, though the enthusiasm at sight of an American was not as great as it once was.

The physical attractions of Porto Rico have been sung, and not too extravagantly or ardently ; for it is a beautiful spot of earth, and "every prospect pleases." There is a tradition there that Columbus found its waters sweet ; and that a northerner in midsummer could by day walk 200 miles through the country, tells better than the thermometer that the climate is tolerable, even for a white man. It is only the monotony of it that becomes oppressive and enervating.

And I suppose it to be a very fertile island. An agent of the Department of Agriculture, while I was there, returned to the United States to make a report as to its productivity—to tell of the vegetables, fruits, cereals, that might be raised there ; and what I read recalled Caleb's report to the Israelites about Canaan. On all hands I heard testimony as to the fecundity of the valleys and hillsides, which had not yet recovered, however, from the devastation of the hurricane of a year ago. The island, fully or even partially developed, will undoubtedly feed, clothe, and shelter 1,000,000 people ; but she was giving scant livelihood to many of her children at this time. That this was so seemed not to be entirely the fault of nature, though she had been severe. An equal number of Yankees, with characteristic energy and ingenuity and industry, would have effaced all marks of the ruin of the previous year. I saw few men or women in the fields. They sat idly in their huts, lounged at the little stores along the roads, or perhaps rode out to the village with a few bananas, cocoanuts, or vegetables, and back with a little native rum and codfish.

If the city was somewhat depressing, the sight of the people I met along the way was distressing. I saw few bright faces or well-nourished bodies in my travels from coast to coast. The hurricane had disturbed the old employments of these people, and they had not the energy or initiative to find new ones. The coffee-trees were gone, and more foresight was required than they possessed to plan for a crop that was five years away. The Government had fed the hungry for months. Millions of pounds of food had been imported and distributed while fields lay idle. This was now stopped, but the idleness which it had only begotten or encouraged still continued. It should be remembered that these rather discouraging

conditions are not peculiar to this little island, and also that they are not of our making, except as our best-intentioned charity may have aggravated the effect of the climate.

The question as to our part in working out the problem,—which is, after all; not of our making,—I put at every mile of the way ; the question which the whole temperate zone is putting to the tropics. I asked it of every stolid face ; of every idle man ; of the boy who walked at my side begging for a centavo ; of the father carrying his dead child upon his shoulder, in the glaring sun, to consecrated ground miles away ; of the boy who, in primitive fashion, balanced the produce on one side of his panniers with rocks on the other, and of the Indian who guided me through the pathless woods and brought me sugar-cane to suck when I could get no food,—of all these I asked it. I did not need to ask the fallow fields and the bare hillsides ; I knew their answer, and it was put into the mouth of the people. It is the answer of all the tropics, that the temperate zone has an obligation there. We certainly have an obligation in Porto Rico.

But there is a hopeful side to the situation in Porto Rico even now, if our theories will let us enjoy it. The schools are being opened all over the island, under competent supervision. Roads and bridges are being built. Franchises are being sought for redeeming swamp-lands, for water privileges, for building street railways and steam railroads across the island. Neglected plantations are being brought into culti-

vation again, and prosperity seems on the eve of entering the island. The taxes are being honestly collected, and progress is being made toward securing justice to all. These are rather abstract statements, but there are concrete facts back of them. There is no occasion to be jubilant or boastful or sanguine ; but if our civilization means anything, it means that the agencies that we have established there will some day bring good to the island and its people.

The orange grows wild in Porto Rico, but it lacks that particular flavor which the cultivated palate demands. Since the American occupation, new-comers have set out orchards with the purpose of grafting slips from California or Florida trees upon native stock, that they may produce, not Porto Rican, but California and Florida oranges. The simile is easily carried into the field of politics.

It will be at least five years before the orange-trees will bear, and then perhaps not abundantly. And the simile will allow the further suggestion that one ought to be as patient with the processes of political growth as the orange-growers are with their slow-fruiting trees. Barring hurricanes, they are as likely to get their California and Florida oranges in time, and the island of Porto Rico will get its civilized fruitage, if only the political storms are not too violent. One may not reason from orange-trees to human beings ; but the processes of Nature in the transformation of a wild tree do certainly give most hopeful analogy.

THE AMERICAN NEGRO AT PARIS.

BY W. E. BURGHARDT DU BOIS

ON the banks of the Seine, opposite the Rue des Nations, stands a large, plain white building, where the promoters of the Paris Exposition have housed the world's ideas of sociology. As a matter of fact, any one who takes his sociology from theoretical treatises would be rather disappointed at the exhibit ; for there is little here of the "science of society." On the other hand, those who have followed historically the development, out of the old Political Economy, of a miscellaneous body of knowing chiefly connected with the larger aspects of human benevolence, will here find much of interest : the building and mutual-aid societies of France ; the working-man's circles of Belgium ; the city governments of Sweden ; the Red Cross Society ; the state insurance of Germany,—are all here strik-

ingly exhibited by charts, statistics, models, and photographs.

The United States section of this building is small, and not, at first glance, particularly striking. There are, in the center, well-made tenement-house models ; in one corner a small exhibit of the American Library Association, and elsewhere sets of interesting maps and photographs showing the work



DR. W. E. B. DU BOIS.

of factory inspectors and typical industrial plants. All these exhibits, are, unfortunately, rather fragmentary, and do scant justice to the wonderful social and economic development of America.

In the right-hand corner, however, as one enters, is an exhibit which, more than most others in the building, is sociological in the larger sense of the term—that is, is an attempt to give, in as systematic and compact a form as possible, the history and present condition of a large group of human beings. This is the exhibit of American Negroes, planned and executed by Negroes, and collected and installed under the direction of a Negro special agent, Mr. Thomas J. Calloway.

In this exhibit there are, of course, the usual paraphernalia for catching the eye—photographs, models, industrial work, and pictures. But it does not stop here; beneath all this is a carefully thought-out plan, according to which the exhibitors have tried to show:

- (a) The history of the American Negro.
- (b) His present condition.
- (c) His education.
- (d) His literature.

The history of the Negro is illustrated by charts and photographs; there is, for instance, a series of striking models of the progress of the colored people, beginning with the homeless freedman and ending with the modern brick schoolhouse and its teachers. There are charts of the increase of Negro population, the routes of the African slave-trade, the progress of emancipation, and the decreasing illiteracy. There are pictures of the old cabins, and, in three great manuscript volumes, the complete black code of Georgia, from colonial times to the end of the nineteenth century. Not the least interesting contribution to history is the case given to Negro medal-of-honor men in the army and navy—from the man who “seized the colors after two color-bearers had been shot down and



EXHIBIT OF AMERICAN NEGROES AT THE PARIS EXPOSITION.

bore them nobly through the fight” to the black men in the Spanish War who “voluntarily went ashore in the face of the enemy and aided in the rescue of their wounded comrades.” It was a Massachusetts lawyer who replied to the Patent-Office inquiry, “I never knew a negro to invent anything but lies;” and yet here is a record of 350 patents granted to black men since 1834.

The bulk of the exhibit, is naturally, an attempt to picture present conditions. Thirty-two charts, 500 photographs, and numerous maps and plans form the basis of this exhibit. The charts are in two sets, one illustrating conditions in the entire United States and the other conditions in the typical State of Georgia. At a glance one can see the successive steps by which the 220,000 negroes of 1750 had increased to

7,500,000 in 1890; their distribution throughout the different States; a comparison of the size of the Negro population with European countries bringing out the striking fact that there are nearly half as many Negroes in the United States as Spaniards in Spain. The striking movement by which the 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of Negroes living in the cities in 1860 has increased to 12 per cent. in 1890 is shown, as is also the fact that recognized mulattoes have increased 50 per cent. in 30 years, even in the defective census returns. Twenty per cent. of the Negroes are shown to be home-owners, 60 per cent. of their children are in school, and their illiteracy is less than that of Russia, and only equal to that of Hungary.

It was a good idea to supplement these very general figures with a minute social study in a typical Southern State. It would hardly be suggested, in the light of recent history, that conditions in the State of Georgia are such as to give a rose-colored picture of the Negro; and yet Georgia, having the largest Negro population, is an excellent field of study. Here again we have statistics: the increase of the black population in a century from 30,000 to 860,000, the huddling in the Black Belt for self-protection since the war, and a comparison of the age distribution with France showing the wonderful reproductive powers of the blacks. The school enrollment has increased from 10,000 in 1870 to 180,000 in 1897, and the Negroes are distributed among the occupations as follows:

In agriculture, 62 per cent.; in domestic and personal service, 28 per cent.; in manufacturing and mechanical industries, 5 per cent.; in trade and transportation, 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.; in the professions, $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

They own 1,000,000 acres of land and pay taxes on \$12,000,000 worth of property—not large, but telling figures; and the charts indicate, from year to year, the struggle they have had to accumulate and hold this property. There are several volumes of photographs of typical Negro faces, which hardly square with conventional American ideas. Several maps show the peculiar distribution of the white and black inhabitants in various towns and counties.

The education of the Negro is illustrated in the work of five great institutions—Fisk, Atlanta, and Howard Universities, and Tuskegee and Hampton Institutes. The exhibit from Fisk illustrates, by photographs and examination papers, the work of secondary and higher education. Atlanta University shows her work in social study and the work of her college and normal graduates; Howard University shows the work of her professional schools, especially in medicine, theology, and law. From Hampton there

is an especially excellent series of photographs illustrating the Hampton idea of "teaching by doing," and from Tuskegee there are numerous specimens of work from the manual-training and technical departments.

Perhaps the most unique and striking exhibit is that of American Negro literature. The development of Negro thought—the view of themselves which these millions of freedmen have taken—is of intense psychological and practical interest. There are many who have scarcely heard of a Negro book, much less read one; still here is a bibliography made by the Library of Congress containing 1,400 titles of works written by Negroes; 200 of these books are exhibited on the shelves. The Negroes have 150 periodicals, mostly weekly papers, many of which are exhibited here.

We have thus, it may be seen, an honest, straightforward exhibit of a small nation of people, picturing their life and development without apology or gloss, and above all made by themselves. In a way this marks an era in the history of the Negroes of America. It is no new thing for a group of people to accomplish much under the help and guidance of a stronger group; indeed, the whole Palace of Social Economy at the Paris Exposition shows how vast a system of help and guidance of this order is being carried on to-day throughout the world. When, however, the inevitable question arises, What are these guided groups doing for themselves? there is in the whole building no more encouraging answer than that given by the American negroes, who are here shown to be studying, examining, and thinking of their own progress and prospects.*

* Mr. Thomas J. Calloway, the special agent of the Negro exhibit, gives the following list of awards to the exhibit, together with a note of explanation, which we print below:

Grand Prix—American Negro Exhibit (on the collection as a whole): Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute, Hampton, Va. *Gold Medals*—Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute, Tuskegee, Ala.; Howard University, Washington, D. C.; T. J. Calloway, Special Agent Negro Exhibit (as compiler); W. E. B. Du Bois, Collaborator as Compiler of Georgia Negro Exhibit. *Silver Medals*—Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn.; Agricultural and Mechanical College, Greensboro, N. C.; Berea College, Berea, Ky.; Atlanta University, Atlanta, Ga.; Booker T. Washington, Monograph on Education of Negro. *Bronze Medals*—Roger Williams University, Nashville, Tenn.; Central Tennessee College, Nashville, Tenn.; Atlanta University, Atlanta, Ga.; Pine Bluff Normal and Industrial School, Pine Bluff, Ark. *Honorable Mention*—Haines Normal and Industrial Institute, Augusta, Ga.; Claflin University, Orangeburg, S. C.

While these awards represent the appreciation of the several juries, taken together there is not the even balancing that might be wished. Some of the principal features were not installed till after the juries were disbanded. For example, the books, the models, patents, etc., fall under this list. The awards, therefore, except in certain cases like Hampton, Tuskegee, Atlanta, etc., do not necessarily represent the strongest features of the exhibit.

TRUSTS IN ENGLAND.

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS OF INDUSTRIAL COMBINATIONS.

BY ROBERT DONALD.

(Editor of the *Municipal Journal*, London, Eng.)

TEN years ago, the heading "Trusts in England" would have been as great an anomaly as the often-quoted title of an article on "Snakes in Iceland," which read, "There are no snakes in Iceland." For many years the Manchester school of *laissez-faire* had dominated English political economy. Under free trade, commercial freedom, every one thought, was guaranteed; competition had full play. English economists pointed to the fruits of protection in the trusts organized in the United States, and predicted that these gigantic monopolies would endanger free institutions, and strangle the political as well as the commercial liberties of the republic. With free trade (so they held) there could be no trusts. Trusts could not be organized without high protection and the assistance of powerful railroad corporations; and, even if they were established, they could not exist any length of time, and would never succeed. These views were also held by free-traders and economists in America. Economists must now revise their views, and politicians change their tactics. England no longer enjoys that immunity from monopoly which was the boast of its own economists and the object-lesson of American free-traders. While the position of trusts has not greatly changed in the United States during the past ten years, except to develop on the same lines, a commercial revolution is taking place in England. The country is becoming honey-combed with combinations and trusts; and, what is more and perhaps worse, there is no agitation against the system. No effort is made to check trusts or control them. Not a word has been said in Parliament on the subject. Newspapers record the news of combinations without much comment, except on the financial or investors' aspect of them. I can trace only two serious review articles on this important development—one superficial and ill-informed; the other by the promoter of some of the combines. The fact is that the new phase of industrial combination is an easy, natural, and perhaps inevitable development of the joint-stock-limited-company system, together with the publicity and checks that accompany it. We have now in England as many varieties of combinations as exist in

the United States. There are—(1) loose understandings for apportioning trade; (2) working agreements between groups of manufacturers for regulating prices; (3) great amalgamations which practically control the markets; (4) local trusts, supreme in their own areas and in their own trades; (5) national monopolies, and (6) international monopolies.

Accepting Professor Ely's definition of a monopoly as meaning "that substantial unity of action on the part of one or more persons engaged in some kind of business which gives exclusive control, more particularly, although not solely, with regard to price," there are now many such in England. The rapid extension of "combines" recently is all the more remarkable, because the early efforts at trust-making were failures.

Before describing the various types of industrial combinations that now exist, it will be as well to refer briefly to the joint-stock system under which they are organized.

THE LIMITED-COMPANY OR JOINT-STOCK SYSTEM.

When fairly carried out, the limited-company system is good, alike for the trader and the investor. A successful manufacturer, for instance, wants to turn his business into a limited-liability company. Two or three things may induce him to do this. He may be getting old; he may want fresh capital; or, he may want to sell his business without losing an interest in it, or even the control of it, simply for the sake of making money. He adds to his capital, or value of his works and property, the value of his good-will. The value of his property must be vouched for by professional valuers, his accounts audited by chartered accountants, to show the net profits for a number of years. He puts his price on the business, and says how he will take the value—in securities or cash, or partly in both. The public judge it as an investment, and subscribe or not, as they choose. Much depends on the amount of information given in the prospectus. The public may be offered the majority of the ordinary shares or stock, and in that case would control the business; or, the vendor may issue only 4 or 5 per cent. preference shares or mortgage deben-

tures, and retain all the ordinary stock. In that case he controls the business so long as he is able to pay the interest on the preference shares and debentures ; if he fails to do so, they will take possession of the business. The Stock Exchange limits his holding in preference and debenture stock if he retains most of the ordinary shares. The accounts must be properly audited every year by professional accountants, and the whole system is more or less open. There are, of course, abuses, which arise from overcapitalization, the hiring of guinea-pig directors to attract investors, and so on ; but the company swindles are generally in connection with financial and mining companies, not with industrial concerns. The law has just been amended to meet some of the abuses that had grown up. Hitherto it has been difficult to punish individuals who defrauded the public, and the chief business of some promoters was to float wild-cat schemes one year and wind them up the next.

The joint-stock system is very elastic, and gives every facility for combination. It is much simpler for companies to combine than for private firms to join hands. Amalgamations under companies are easily organized on an equitable basis, and there is no limit to the extent to which they can be carried. As will be seen later on, the British combine differs in many ways from the American trust ; but the aim is the same, even though the methods taken to reach it may differ.

INFORMAL COMBINES.

There are a large number of informal combines in England which give some advantages of monopoly without unity of control or financial association. Thus, the railroad corporations have long ceased to compete as regards rates. It is perfectly well understood, and has been admitted over and over again by railroad men before Parliamentary committees, that the railroad companies combine. They agree in their rates, but compete in facilities, speed, etc. If it were not that the railroad companies are strictly regulated by the Board of Trade, this system of concerted action would be a very serious factor. As it is, the railroads represent the most powerful interest in Parliament.

Railroad companies do not connive at trust-making, as in the United States, but they discriminate to some extent. They sometimes reduce their rates according to the quantity of goods sent on their lines, which obviously favors the big concerns.

Similarly, the leading shipping companies have fixed rates for freight, to stop under-cutting,

competing only in speed and facilities. Some of them have monopolies of their routes. The recent amalgamation of the Castle and Union lines is a case in point, as it establishes a practical monopoly in the service to South Africa.

There are various understandings and agreements in the coal-trade. As the price of coal has risen just now over 30 per cent., it is suggested that there is a national combine, but there is no evidence of it ; nor is it necessary, as local combinations serve the same purpose, being protected in their own areas from competition by the cost of freight. In London, all the leading coal merchants combine to fix prices. They decide at the Coal Exchange when prices shall rise or fall. They cannot take any extreme course ; otherwise the crowd of small dealers outside the ring would interfere with their business.

The London flour-millers have a small association for fixing the prices of top flour which is used by the West-End bakers. Four or five firms have a monopoly of this business, with the object of maintaining prices and equalizing quality.

The leading engineering firms throughout the country entered into a compact, after the last strike, to act together against trade-union labor-making unity of action on one point. The Proprietary Articles Trade Association, representing wholesale and retail chemists, is established to prevent cutting in the drug-stores. The fire-insurance companies have a ring for regulating rates, one result of which is that public authorities are likely to become their own insurers.

These examples of understandings and agreements do not bear directly on the question of trusts, but are another indication that the competitive system is weakening.

EARLY EFFORTS AT TRUST-MAKING.

It is evident that, until a few years ago, England was not ripe for trusts. The early efforts failed either through the overcapitalization of the concerns, opposition from outsiders, or defective management. The Salt Union was a complete failure. So was the Hansard Union—an attempt to combine certain printing firms in London and paper-mills in the country.

The United Alkali Company, formed a few years ago with a capital of \$45,500,000, controlled three-fourths of the alkali business ; yet for three years it has paid no dividend on the ordinary shares. The £10 shares stand at between 2 and 3. The company has had a working agreement with Brunner, Mond & Co. and Bowman Thompson & Co., so that the whole alkali trade was a monopoly. Brunner-Mond (a remarkably successful firm) and Bowman

Thompson & Co. have now amalgamated. Their capital is \$16,652,200 ; and it is a question, at present, whether they will renew their agreement with the United Alkali or compete with it.

An attempt was made in December, 1897, to absorb all the bill-posting advertisement businesses into one national combine ; but it was a hopeless failure. The capital was fixed at \$12,250,000, but only a small sum was subscribed.

The Bedstead Manufacturers' Association, which has just broken up, was a novel experiment in trust-making. It attempted to carry the workmen with it by giving them the highest wages, and 40 per cent. bonus. The alliance with the workmen lasted for eight years, and the combine was held together by coercing firms with the united forces of capital and labor. The trade has recently become depressed. At a meeting held in the second week of August it was announced that a number of firms had seceded, and the association was practically dissolved. The Bedstead Workmen's Association is now proposing to hold the firms in the alliance to their agreement.

THE TELEPHONE MONOPOLY.

The monopoly that has been most prejudicial to public interests—the National Telephone Company—is now being undermined. By buying up other companies, the National established a monopoly which fitted its name. The post-office made no effort to curb it, but on the contrary encouraged, or, at any rate, facilitated it. The company worked under a license that was to expire in 1911 ; it had a capital of \$35,000,000, which it made no effort to redeem. It was confident either of getting its license renewed or of compelling the post-office to buy its watered capital at par. The evolution of this monopoly is a sordid story—one of the worst features of which is that the postmaster-general, who helped to consolidate it, was soon afterward made a director of the company. The agitation against this monopoly on the part of municipalities became so strong that in 1898 the House of Commons appointed a committee to investigate the question. The result was that last year an act was passed giving municipalities the right to establish telephones, and authorizing the post-office to spend \$10,000,000 in creating a competitive system in London. While the post-office strikes at the monopoly at the center, the municipalities will knock holes in it in provincial cities. That is now being done, and the public competitive system will begin to work early next year. Parliament has given the telephone company a lingering instead of a sudden death by extending its license for another fourteen years.

MANIA FOR AMALGAMATIONS.

During the last three years, there has been a prolific crop of amalgamations—half-way houses to trusts. Private and proprietary banks are being absorbed out of existence. Barclay's Bank has taken over 24 similar undertakings. Parr's Bank has absorbed about as many, and Lloyd's Bank has swallowed up 38 other banking-houses, and is still seeking others to devour. Lloyd's has 309 branches and a paid-up capital of \$13,280,000. Its current and deposit accounts amount to \$227,500,000. Only one joint-stock bank does a larger business now than this. One of the proprietors of a bank which had been established two hundred years, and which had sunk its historic name in Lloyd's, informed me that one cause of the amalgamation was that the public preferred banks that published balance-sheets—as, of course, all joint-stock banks are obliged to do. The few ancient banks that now remain have old family connections which keep them going, and some of them are so exclusive that they will not open business accounts.

A few years ago, when the "boom" was on, a number of amalgamations were effected in the cycle trade. They are not now very successful. The firms engaged in carrying coal by sea have recently amalgamated ; but, in fact, the ordinary amalgamation of two or more firms in the same line of business is an every-day occurrence, which calls for no comment.

ENGINEERING AND SHIPBUILDING COMBINATIONS.

There is one kind of amalgamation taking place that deserves special note. Great mining, iron, engineering, and shipbuilding firms have come together. Instead of having between the raw material and the completed ship or engineering work the intermediary profits of the iron-ore miner, the coal-miner, the ironmaster, the steel-maker, the iron-founder, the forger, the marine-engine builder, and so forth,—all these middlemen are got rid of, and the whole business placed, as it were, under one roof. The Vickers, Son & Maxim Company is a case in point. This company, an amalgamation of several, can now turn out a battleship, from beginning to finish, without any outside assistance. Another notable union was that carried out by the great engineering house of Sir W. G. Armstrong Mitchell & Co. and Sir Joseph Whitworth & Co. in 1897. Their capital is \$23,550,000, and last year they paid 15 per cent. with a bonus of 5 per cent. This company supplies all kinds of armor ; but they have not their own shipbuilding yards yet, although this development is to come. The firms of Robert Napier &

Sons, shipbuilders, and Broadmore & Co., steel and armor plate makers, have united, and are now a self-contained concern. A similar alliance has been made between Messrs. Brown, engineers, of Sheffield, and the Clyde Shipbuilding and Engineering Company. It is hardly necessary to point out some of the advantages of this unity of action; as, while a ship is in the stocks, boilermaker, marine engineer, gun-mounters, etc., are under the same control as the shipfitter. There is no delay, no friction through contractors, and everything conduces to harmonious action and unanimity of purpose.

There is a union similar to some of the above which goes farther, as the amalgamated firms have a monopoly of the steamship routes after they have built the ships. In this case the companies still go under different names. The Frederick Leyland Shipping Company and the Wilson, Furness & Leyland lines are united. The Furness company controls Edward Withy & Co., shipbuilders. Furness, Westgarth & Co., engineers, and William Allan, M.P., engineer, are in the same ring; so are the Manchester liners, the Tee's Side Bridge & Engineering Company, while it stretches across the Atlantic and forms a union with the Chesapeake & Ohio Steamship Company.

I will now give a few examples of recently formed combines, and will lead up from the smaller, which are in some cases equivalent to local trusts, to the larger, which are absolute monopolies.

SOME RECENT COMBINES.

THE BRADFORD DYERS' ASSOCIATION.

Formed in December, 1897. Capital \$22,500,000. This combination absorbed 22 businesses, practically controlling all the trade in the neighborhood of Bradford. The original capital has been increased by \$3,750,000. Since it was established it has absorbed six other companies, making a total of 28. Its first report showed a profit of \$2,025,000, which paid a dividend of 10 per cent. for the first 15 months on the ordinary shares.

YORKSHIRE DYEWARE AND CHEMICAL COMPANY, LTD.

Formed in May, 1900. The object of this combination, including about a dozen firms, is to have a common plan of action, but to leave each business as a distinct branch with its individuality. Capital \$1,100,000, half of which is 6-per-cent. cumulative preference shares. Only sufficient was offered to the public to comply with the Stock Exchange regulations, in order to get a quotation in the lists. The directors take 10 per cent. before the ordinary shareholders receive any, so that they could have raised much money if they had wanted it.

GLASGOW COAL AND IRON COMBINE.

Formed in May, 1900. This is a combination under the name of John Dunlop & Co. (1900), Ltd., with a capital of \$2,750,000. It combines coal-mines, iron-

works, and chemical works for utilizing waste gases from the furnaces of the iron-works, steel-works, etc., in the neighborhood of Glasgow. The vendors took \$2,500,000 for the business—all of it except \$65,000 in cash, leaving only \$250,000 as the working capital of the businesses, which had been worked at a growing profit.

THE UNITED INDIGO AND CHEMICAL COMPANY, LTD.

Formed in November, 1899. An amalgamation of eight indigo manufacturers' firms. Capital \$1,250,000—half in 6-per-cent. cumulative preference shares.

UNITED COLLIERIES.

Formed in 1899. A combination of the collieries in the neighborhood of Glasgow. Most of them already limited-liability companies.

BRADFORD COAL MERCHANTS' AND CONSUMERS' ASSOCIATION, LTD.

Formed in July, 1899. This combine controls 90 per cent. of the steam-coal trade, and a great proportion of the household-coal trade in the city of Bradford, which, with its suburbs, has a population of about 250,000. Capital \$1,250,000, \$500,000 of which is 5-per-cent. cumulative preference shares. Purchase price, \$998,250. The amount of working capital left, after the purchase-money had been paid, was \$700,000. This company is allied with other combinations.

THE BORAX MONOPOLY.

Formed in July, 1899. The Borax Consolidated, as it is called, aims at the control of this industry. Capital of \$16,000,000. It owns works in Chile, Peru, California, and England. Its profits for the twelve months ending September last amounted to \$1,306,880, and it was announced that the company was buying up further properties to consolidate its monopoly.

FLAX MACHINERY COMBINE.

Formed in July, 1900. A union of the largest manufacturers of machinery for preparing flax, hemp, and jute, having businesses in Leeds and Belfast. Capital \$6,000,000, purchase-price \$5,500,000, payable partly in cash and in shares. Average yearly profits, \$411,240.

THE YORKSHIRE INDIGO, SCARLET, AND COLOR DYERS, LTD.

Formed in July, 1900. This combination represents almost all the dyeing businesses in Yorkshire, and is homogeneous, inasmuch as it will supply its own dye materials through the businesses which it amalgamates. Some of the firms have been established over 150 years. The capital is \$3,000,000, of which one-half is 4½ per-cent. first-mortgage debenture stock. The purchase-price was \$2,167,390. The promoters took one-third of the issued capital.

YORKSHIRE SOAP-MAKERS' ASSOCIATION.

Formed in May, 1900. A combination of twelve Yorkshire businesses engaged in the manufacture of soap and packing cotton waste. Capital \$2,000,000, purchase-price \$1,252,340.

YORKSHIRE WOOL-COMBERS.

Formed in October, 1899. Practically all the wool-combers in Yorkshire. They are called an "association"—a favorite term for the combines. ("Unions" have earned a bad name and nothing else.) Thirty-eight firms are absorbed. Capital \$11,000,000. There

was a rush to subscribe, and the capital required was applied for several times over; but the result is disappointing. The promised profits have not been earned. The deferred shares get nothing for the first year. The directors say that the falling off is due to the lack of wool for combing, consequent on the depression in the worsted trade. And now depression in the worsted trade is to be met by a combine for that industry, which will no doubt work in with the wool-combers.

BRITISH OIL AND CAKE MILLS.

Formed in 1899. Capital \$11,250,000, divided into three equal parts as ordinary, 5-per-cent. preference shares, and 4½-per-cent. debenture stock. The promoters took \$3,500,000 in cash, \$2,635,000 in securities, and \$615,000 in securities or cash.

VELVET AND CORD DYERS' COMBINE.

Formed in April, 1899. Known as the English Velvet and Cord Dyers' Association, Ltd. This is the only large combine that asked no money from the public. It is a union of 22 firms, which raised their own capital. Previous to combination, most of them yielded little profit. They now reap 5 per cent.

VELVET-CUTTING COMBINE.

Formed in March, 1900. Velvet-cutting is presumably not a large industry. The united velvet-cutters represent four firms, capital \$1,500,000.

CALICO PRINTERS' COMBINE.

Formed in December, 1899. This is one of the boldest and biggest of undertakings. No fewer than 60 firms have combined, with the huge capital of \$46,000,000. More than two-thirds of this capital was issued, but all except \$10,666,660 was retained as purchase-money. The flotation was too favorable, and there is now a "slump." More works have been bought, but a monopoly has not been secured. In the meantime, we read paragraphs like this, which will have a familiar look to Americans: "In consequence of depression in the calico-printing trade, the combine has closed its works at Stalybridge and Hayfield, and thrown 500 operatives out of work."

FINE-COTTON SPINNERS AND DOUBLERS.

Formed in May, 1898. Capital \$30,000,000. Thirty firms amalgamated. It pays 10 per cent., and is doing well. It belongs to the group in which the Coats Thread Trust hold interests, and probably is controlled by that gigantic international combine.

COAL AND IRON COMBINE.

Formed in July, 1900. The Doulais Iron Company, Guest Keen & Co., colliery owners, quarry owners, ironmasters, etc., and the Patent Nut and Bolt Company, iron and steel manufacturers, etc. Amalgamated capital \$20,000,000. This combine owns an iron-ore company in Spain.

LIME AND CEMENT COMBINE.

Formed in July, 1900. This combine embraces all the lime and cement and brick works in Bedfordshire. Capital \$2,000,000. The vendors retained all the ordinary shares, offering the public only part of the preference shares and debenture stock.

NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL TRUSTS.

None of the above companies are national; they have only local or limited monopolies. We now come to gigantic corporations which have an absolute monopoly in their own fields.

PORLAND CEMENT TRUST.

Floated as recently as the middle of July, the Associated Portland Cement Manufacturers, Ltd., embrace 30 firms, and have working arrangements for three years with four others. Some of the constituent companies were already amalgamations of others. They have 90 per cent. of the business in the country, and the remaining 10 per cent. must necessarily combine or disappear. Capital \$40,000,000, partly ordinary cumulative 5½-per-cent. preference shares, and first-mortgage debenture stock (4½ per cent.). Several millions were left unissued in the meantime. The vendors took one-third. A large amount was obtained before the issue, and the public was asked for the balance,—about \$16,000,000,—which was promptly supplied. The combine has 19 directors and 14 managing directors. These gentlemen were, of course, the heads of the absorbed concerns. New machinery has been put down, and the combine promises well as a commercial concern.

NATIONAL WALL-PAPER TRUST.

Formed in March, 1900. All the manufacturers of wall-paper form one trust. The principal dealers have signed an agreement not to deal outside the trust—called the Wall-Paper Manufacturers, Ltd.—for seven years. The capital is \$16,000,000, and less than half the amount was issued, so that the control remains in the hands of the promoters. From an industrial point of view, this trust is in the strongest position of any combination in the country. Unlike others, it has no fear of foreign competition. French, German, and American goods have no sale in England—as width, length, style, and everything differs. For that matter, so far as America is concerned, the British trust is making an agreement with the American trust in the same line. There is a large export trade in English-made wallpaper. Competition in the home trade was so keen that many houses became insolvent. The smaller mills were at once closed on the formation of the trust. Prices were raised, but better goods are produced. The services of "drummers" were dispensed with, and the market is better controlled. Formerly firms produced inferior "job lines" of goods, partly for competitive purposes, partly to keep their mills going. That has been stopped. Production is not only equalized, but specialized. Instead of one mill producing goods of various kinds and qualities, every mill has now its special line. The trust is protected against the danger of strikes, as most of the labor employed is unskilled and unorganized. To begin with, many workmen were discharged; but those who remained obtained regular employment and better wages. This trust promises to be one of the most successful yet established.

THE BLEACHERS' TRUST.

Formed in July, 1900. The Bleachers' Association, Ltd., is the latest and one of the biggest things in trusts that England has produced. It has a capital of \$41,050,000, 49 directors, and is an amalgamation of 53 firms.

The bleaching trade is one of the oldest industries in England. Many of the firms that have sunk their individuality in the trust have been established over a century. One dates from 1760, another from 1761, and fifteen were founded before the present century. The businesses merged in the trust have been successful, but the flotation was a failure. The end of July was an inappropriate time to raise money, and the underwriters had to take most of the stock. The trust, in its prospectus, said : "A few of the amalgamated firms are dyers as well as bleachers, and the two businesses may be usefully and profitably continued side by side. There is, however, no intention of competing with the Dyers' Association, Ltd., and in the case of the firm which carries on at one of its works piece-dyeing of the Bradford class the company (that is, the trust) has arranged to transfer the dye-works to that association."

This is a confession that there is an agreement between the two. Bleaching is a safe business, as the bleachers' work is to bleach and finish goods for others. This means that there may soon be another ring of those who supply the bleachers with their work. It will be difficult to compete against the trust, as the scarcity of an adequate water-supply, and the stringent rules now enforced against river pollution, will make it almost impossible to establish new works.

THE INTERNATIONAL THREAD TRUST.

The Coats combine is the first international industrial trust. Practically, the world's output of sewing-cotton, except some of the finer kinds,—the business in which is infinitesimal,—is in its grasp. This trust is well known in the United States. It is associated, in fact, with 12 foreign manufacturing concerns, and is interested in, and has agreements with, the English Sewing-Cotton Company, floated in November, 1897, with a capital of \$17,750,000, joining 15 firms, and is similarly allied with the Fine-Cotton Spinners and Doublers—a union of 31 firms, capital \$30,000,000,—and the American Thread Company, floated in London, in December, 1898, capital \$18,600,000. This trust is proving a remarkable commercial success, and there is apparently no stoppage of its prosperity in sight.

INTERCOMBINATIONS.

Some of the combines have working arrangements with others, but they are not always on a footing that can be traced. Here is an illustration of the system of intercombination. The Bradford Dyers' Association is in league with the Bradford coal ring. The Coats Thread trust has affiliations with many companies. The dyers are also in agreement with the bleachers' combine, as we have seen.

Another phase of the combine system which applies chiefly to electricity undertakings is for the same ring to promote several companies under different titles. During the last session of Parliament, four electric-power bills were promoted as coming from different companies, when as a matter of fact the directors were the same in each case. In the case of the County of Durham Electric-Power bill, there was more pluralism. The bill sought power—which it got—to supply current to "authorized distributor." It attended only to the bulk, or wholesale, side of the business. But the promoters and directors also operated under other companies—two electric-lighting works, two street-railroad systems, and two light railroads in the same county; while they were in alliance with the Brush Electrical

Engineering Company, of which some of them were directors. They can thus deal with themselves in several capacities, and multiply profits unnecessarily.

WAR AND TRUSTS.

It should be noted that most of the trusts and combines above described have been floated during the period of the war in South Africa and in China—between November, 1899, and the present time—when the money market has been more or less disorganized and public confidence shaken. As a matter of fact, the joint-stock enterprises promoted during this period are just about half what they were in the previous year, which means that the combines form a large part of them. It may be taken for granted that, but for the war, the number would have been far greater. A large number of combinations are just now in an embryo state, waiting for the opportune moment to come on the market. They include a hat-manufacturing combination of 66 firms, with a capital of \$10,000,000. A combination of worsted spinners is in process of organization. It will represent 128 firms, and have a capital of \$90,000,000.

THE JOINT-STOCK SYSTEM A CHECK.

Two things make the organization and working of trusts in Great Britain different from the operation of similar combinations in America. These are the joint-stock-company system and free trade. The first introduces an element of democratic control in finance in place of an autocracy ; the other acts as a safety-valve in the interest of consumers. In organizing trusts or localized monopolies in England, no doubt various kinds of persuasion and coercion are utilized; but once a company is formed, the methods adopted in America for consolidating and extending the combination would not work well. Cutthroat, death-dealing competition to destroy recalcitrant firms would not be possible ; nor would the concomitant of this method, high prices in places where monopoly had been established, be safe or expedient. Shareholders would not risk their dividends for a single year by this method of industrial warfare. Even if the independent shareholders did not control the combine, they are capable of exercising great influence. The position of a company organized on the joint-stock-limited-liability system is open to discussion in public meeting of the shareholders at least once a year. Adverse criticism on the part of a minority has an influence on the market. If the directors who may be the chief holders do not furnish the information asked for, or justify their policy to the satisfaction of the independent shareholders, the stock will be at once adversely affected. It is possible for a few to control the combination by securing a majority of the stock or shares ; but that control will be in their own interest only so long as they behave themselves, and pursue a straightforward, busi-

nesslike policy. The accountants who act as auditors of limited companies occupy an independent position, which enables them to check crooked methods of finance. They are men of high professional standing, who could not be "squared" by unscrupulous directors. Their strength lies in their integrity; and it would not pay them, even if they were willing, to connive with directors to do what was not straightforward, or to mislead the public. If auditors find that the dividends are being paid without being earned from profits, or if depreciation allowances are inadequate, or patents are not being written off, they will pass the accounts, but qualify their certificate. Any comment from auditors necessarily influences the stock in the market, which cannot be of benefit to the company or the directors. If in industrial concerns everything is not managed in a straightforward way, and investors are misled and deceived, they will lose confidence in such enterprises and will not subscribe, which the trust organizers want them to do. The danger from one-man or ring control in these combinations is not great, as the abuses would lead to reaction. It should be remembered always that the organizers of the combines—the owners of the properties floated on the market—have more need of the independent investor than the investor has of them. The fact that the ordinary shares in the combines are generally only one pound in value shows that support is sought from small investors.

The chief danger of the trust movement on the financial side, apart from that which would arise from mismanagement, lies in overcapitalization to start with, and overestimated prospective profits. In other respects, the joint-stock-limited-company system, while its elasticity gives facilities for the formation of trusts, also acts in various ways as a check on abuses and the dangers of these great aggregations of wealth and power.

FREE TRADE THE SAFETY-VALVE.

On the formation of the combines, the owners of the businesses acquired can get a big haul from the public; but their profits after that, if

they remain in the business, will depend on economies in methods of production and distribution from the creation of a huge industrial unit rather than on increased prices. The absence of competition may not always enable them to buy raw material cheaper, but unity of management and absence of competition necessarily carry with them many potential economies which can be taken advantage of. The margin for increase of price, however, is not large. Foreign competition would at once seize the opportunity that free trade gives to undersell the combine. Prices must, therefore, be regulated, even were a national monopoly created, according to the prices at which foreign goods could be delivered in England. Free trade, therefore, acts as a safety-valve to the home consumers. Under the international monopoly of the sewing-cotton combine, the British consumer does not suffer; as Mr. Archibald Coats, the president of the combine, stated at the last meeting of the company that the profits of the shareholders came from their investments and interests in fifteen foreign companies, not from their home factories. This might be owing partly to overcapitalization, and partly to keeping down prices from the fear of competition.

EFFECT ON BRITISH MANUFACTURES.

Consumers in England have not so much to fear from combines regulated by the Companies' Act, and held in check by free trade, as consumers in the United States. The tyranny of capital will be restrained; and, so long as the chances of competition do not disappear, the combines will find that their safety lies in raising prices as little as possible. From an industrial point of view, they may exercise a stimulating influence. They will break down the conservatism which frequently characterizes British manufacturing methods. The best machinery will be introduced, new methods of production adopted, specialization carried out. It is probable, if the combines are under good management and speculation is discouraged, that this new phase in British industry may increase competition with other countries in foreign trade, while it consolidates the market at home.



THE BRITISH CZAR: THE GENERAL ELECTOR.

BY W. T. STEAD.

EXCEPT Mr. Chamberlain, no personality has emerged from the turmoil of the present election. Of Mr. Chamberlain I have written so much and so often that I have no wish to make him the subject of another character sketch. Mr. Morley is *hors de combat*; Mr. Goschen, whose retirement at other times might have suggested him as the subject for treatment, is only conspicuous for the moment because he is stepping out of the fray, not because he is taking a leading part in the contest; Lord Rosebery has only emitted a single letter, which was a poor substitute for the leading which even a leader retired from business might have been expected to suggest; and, as for Lord Salisbury, his manifesto was almost abject in its feebleness. Surely never did a prime minister appeal to the country in so lachrymose a tone. Never before has a piteous wail over possible abstentions taken the place of direct challenge to the heart and conscience of the electorate on a great political issue. Seeing, therefore, that among the candidates there is no person who would seem to call particularly for analysis and delineation in these pages, I be-thought me that it might not be a bad thing to regard the voter or the general elector as an entity, and to describe him as if he were individually, what he is politically, the British Czar.

The Czar of All the Russias is vested by the constitution of his country with the supreme power. He is autocrat. From his will there is no appeal; but in practice, as no one knows better than czars themselves, they are hampered at every turn in the exercise of their autocratic power. In theory omnipotent, in practice their sovereign will can be exercised within a very small area, and by no means always even there. Our British elector is in precisely similar case. In theory he is supreme. He can make and unmake ministries, reverse policies, avert or precipitate war; or, in short, do everything that the Czar can do. But the occasion for exercising this supreme power occurs only once in half a dozen years, and then it takes place in circumstances which often reduce to a farce the much-vaunted power of the elector.

To begin with, the elector has no opportunity of expressing his opinion, one way or the other, unless there is a contest. He may hate the candidate who sits for his constituency as much as the West Birmingham Liberals hate Mr. Cham-

berlain; but unless a candidate can be put into the field, he is powerless to express his disapprobation. This, it may be, is a matter that requires remedying; but at this election the right to vote has practically been denied to constituents who are responsible for the return of no fewer than 170 members. The number of seats unopposed is larger this year than at some previous elections—for obvious reasons, into which we do not need to enter now. Suffice it to say that one-fourth of the House of Commons can be elected without giving the electors any opportunity of exercising a choice.

It was said long ago by a cynic that British electors lived under a despotic government, tempered by the permission once in seven years to choose a new set of rulers. For electors in non-contested constituencies this right does not exist, and in many others it is more phantasmal than real. In theory, however, 6,000,000 adult males, being householders and on the register, have the destiny of the country in their hands. Each one of them on polling-day is an uncrowned king. To his absolute, free, and unfettered choice the destinies of the empire are committed, and upon the way in which he exercises that choice will depend the future history of our country. The responsibility of the voter is great, even when the results of his decision are operative over a very small area. How much greater must they be when his responsibility extends over land and sea, and when the weal and woe of unnumbered millions of mankind depend upon whether he chooses wisely or the reverse.

Such is the theory. In practice, one-fourth of the electors have no chance of voting; and, of the other three-fourths, how many go to the polling-booth with any consciousness of their responsibilities or obligations? No doubt there are some who are conscious of their imperial prerogatives, but with the immense majority the decision as to how they vote is governed by a multitude of private or local considerations with which the problems of empire have very little to do.

In the present general election, a distinct step has been taken towards reducing the consciousness of responsibility to vanishing point. When the matter in dispute concerns the ownership of a cottage or a mere question of trespass, mankind has recognized the necessity for calm delib-

eration, for the hearing of evidence on both sides, and the sternest penalties are imposed upon any who would disturb the judicial calm of the law court or the still more sacred seclusion of the room where the jurors retire to give their verdict. But when the matter concerns not the ownership of a cottage, but the annexation of a republic; when the matter in dispute is not one of mere trespass, but the carrying of fire and sword through the territories of a neighboring people,—all the arrangements indispensable in a court of justice are flung on one side. In place of judicial calm there are heated appeals to party passion. Such controversy as there is consists in the haranguing of rival crowds, each of which meets apart, and neither manifests the least disposition to listen to what the other side has to say. Indeed, it is well if the impatient partisans can be induced to confine their demonstrations of enthusiasm to cheering their own side, instead of drowning by clamor the arguments of their opponents.

In some ways the American general elector has more chance than his English fellow. In America every election is contested as a matter of course, so that each elector has at least an opportunity of voting for or against the administration of the day. But the contrast between American and British methods is still more marked when we examine the tactics which have governed Ministerialists at the present dissolution. In the United States the two parties hold their respective conventions in June or July, and from that time till November the whole country is invited and expected to devote its uninterrupted attention to the issues which are presented by the opposing candidates. This, at least, renders it possible that the final vote, when it is taken, should have some relation to the questions which that vote will decide. How different is the method adopted in this country! Lord Salisbury and Mr. Chamberlain have reduced to a mockery the principle of an appeal to the people. There is no necessity for the present Parliament to be dissolved until next year. Ministers themselves did not appear to have made up their minds as to whether or not to make an appeal to the people until four days after President Krüger had crossed the frontier and sought refuge in Portuguese territory from the pursuing soldiers of Great Britain. In order to take advantage of the temporary excitement produced by this triumph of our arms, Parliament is dissolved at a week's notice, and before another week is over the elections begin. Between the announcement of the dissolution and the opening of the first polls less than a fortnight elapsed. The sudden proclamation of a dissolution found candidates and their spokesmen scat-

tered all over the continent of Europe. Two or three days elapsed before they could return. Election addresses had to be written in hot haste, and in many instances the time was too short to permit even a reasoned statement of the questions at issue, to say nothing of having them thoroughly debated. Any such thing as a campaign of education was entirely out of the question. The election was snatched in a hurry, for the express purpose of avoiding that close examination and reasonable discussion which have hitherto been regarded as the indispensable prelude to the vote.

Business men, of course, will reply that an election interferes with trade, and that the sooner it is over the better. But on this principle it would be much better to do without elections altogether, because it stands to reason that if a fortnight's electioneering is better than a month, no electioneering at all would be better still. As a mere matter of practical detail, it is simply impossible to print and to arrange for the distribution of the statement of the issue which is supposed to be decided at the poll. The only consecutive, reasoned presentation of the case against the government, both on its political and military aspects, was that which was made by the *Westminster Gazette*; but their masterly and convincing indictment of Mr. Chamberlain's diplomacy and Lord Lansdowne's military administration could not get itself into type until a day after the dissolution, within less than four days of the opening of the polls. Great Britain is but a small country, it is true; but even in England distances of five or six hundred miles separate the outlying constituencies from the capital. By no human possibility could the electors of the constituencies which polled on Monday be supplied in time for their perusal with the statement of the case for the opposition, the first copies of which were only issued from the press on the previous Thursday.

It is true that there is one precedent of somewhat unhappy augury which will enable the Conservatives to plead that the attempt to snatch an election, suddenly sprung at the eleventh hour upon the constituencies, has originated with Mr. Gladstone. In 1874 Mr. Gladstone, without even taking the counsel of many of his colleagues in the government, suddenly decided to dissolve Parliament, and to appeal to the constituencies upon a proposal to abolish the income tax. But even then some time elapsed between the dissolution and the appeal to the constituencies. But although party men may be satisfied with the recourse to the convenient *tu quoque*, the fact that both parties are guilty heightens rather than diminishes the gravity of the offense.

The practice of snatching a sudden dissolution and of forcing an appeal to the country before either of the rival parties have their literature ready is a *reductio ad absurdum* of the farce of democratic government. How the evil is to be met it is difficult to see. In the British Constitution written safeguards against admitted evils are few and unimportant; but if the spirit of democratic government is not to be violated by a gross abuse of its forms, some method will have to be adopted by which a sufficient *interim* is allowed between the announcement of the declaration of the dissolution of Parliament and the choice of its successor.

Regarded from the point of view of reason, nothing could be more absurd than the way in which the unfortunate general elector has been hustled into giving his decision on the present occasion. As long as the war was in progress, it was declared to be unpatriotic in the highest degree to criticise either its policy or its conduct. The moment the war could with any plausibility be said to be over, an appeal is rushed through to the constituencies, and the vote is taken before one-half of the electorates have even had time to hear what can be alleged by the opponents of the administration. If this thing is allowed to pass without protest, there would seem to be no reason why, in the near future, any minister should shrink from announcing the dissolution of Parliament on Saturday and completing the whole of the elections by the following Saturday. Any brilliant victory on land or sea would afford both an excuse and justification for snatching an appeal to the constituencies before the glamour and the glory of the success of our arms had ceased to disturb the judgment and dazzle the imagination of the general elector.

I have called the general elector the British Czar. But if we were to find a parallel to the method of taking the decision of King Demos in the annals of despotic courts, we should discover that it resembled nothing so much as the attempt of courtiers to secure the signature of the autocrat to a ukase before he had time to read it, or at a time when they had succeeded in befuddling his brain by a prolonged debauch.

Lord Rosebery has repeatedly lifted up his voice in favor of reorganizing the government upon business principles. It would be interesting to know what an ordinary practical man of business would think of this method of taking the supreme decisions of the head of the firm. To arouse the senior partner at the dead of night, and to insist upon his there and then deciding whether or not he would reverse the principles upon which the business had been so far carried on, without giving him even time to

examine his balance-sheet or check the accuracy of the figures presented to him,—this is a method that might command itself to dishonest cashiers, but could hardly be regarded as businesslike. Yet wherein does it differ from the way in which the general elector has been hustled into giving his decision at the present election?

It will be said that the main issues before the country have long been familiar to the general elector, and that in short the case, both for the prosecution and the defense, had been closed, and all that was necessary was for him to retire from the jury-box and agree as to his verdict of guilty or not guilty. But a moment's reflection will be sufficient to prove that the very reverse of this is the case. At every general election there are many important questions which occupy the attention of the electorate, but it is seldom that so many and so grave issues have been presented before the nation as those upon which the election is supposed to have turned. Three questions stand out conspicuously. The first is that as to the future government of South Africa. Upon this point ministers themselves have afforded us but little light as to their intentions. So far as may be gathered from their election addresses, the Alpha and Omega of their policy is to continue themselves in office. They seek a renewed mandate in order that they may be free to do what they please. So far as they have given us any hint as to what they will do, it amounts to the indefinite establishment of a despotic government in two states, one of which was one of the freest republics in the world, while the other, with all its faults, at least enjoyed a parliament of its own, and was governed according to the will of the majority of the electors on the register. All that is to be swept off the board. That, at least, is clear; but as to when any system of free government is to be re-established in these republics, ministers say nothing. It depends, they tell us, upon the attitude of the population, which has just been burned out of house and home, and which will for many a long year to come remember with the bitterest feelings of regret and resentment the loss of thousands of its bravest sons, butchered to make a British holiday. So far, therefore, as ministers may be said to have defined the issue upon which the vote is taken, it is to demand that they should have *carte blanche* to establish for an indefinite period military despotism in South Africa.

This policy is one which involves so gross a departure from what have hitherto been regarded as the settled principles upon which the general elector has believed the British empire was to be governed, that the least that could be expected is that it should be fully expounded and carefully

discussed. But what do we find in practice? That the unfortunate general elector hears nothing, or next to nothing, concerning the future of South Africa. His ears are dinned with more or less ecstatic eulogiums upon Mr. Chamberlain pronounced by Mr. Chamberlain himself and his satellites, who, with all manner of electoral tom-toms, proclaim night and day that there never was such a Heaven-sent minister as Joseph of Birmingham. On the other hand, in the absence of any organized opposition with courage sufficient to call its soul its own, or to challenge the most revolutionary departures from constitutional practice, the electorate is left practically without any statement of the case against annexation. The leading spokesmen of the opposition, in order to evade the difficulty of propounding an alternative proposition, have eagerly clutched at the convenient theory that annexation was inevitable and irrevocable, and that ministers having terminated an unjust and unnecessary war by the extinction of an independent nationality, nothing can be done but to acquiesce in the crime which has been perpetrated before our eyes. Mr. Balfour, almost alone among ministers, has had the courage to point out that annexation, so far from being irrevocable, not only could be undone, but ought to be undone if the war in its inception were unjust. But even if it were admitted that annexation was inevitable, there is all the difference in the world between annexation under which the population was admitted at the earliest possible moment to the full rights of responsible government and annexation which resembles the annexation of Poland by Russia.

I have called the general elector the British Czar; and, so far as the main issue before him is concerned, he is really asked whether or not he will substitute the methods and policy of the czardom for the old-established methods and principles of constitutional self-government. It may be quite right that the general elector should arrogate to himself the prerogatives of the Russian autocrat, and should to that extent revolutionize the conception which has hitherto prevailed of the mission of England in the world; but the right and the wrong of the decision is not what we are now discussing. What we are asking is that, before the general elector remodels our African policy upon Russian and worse than Russian principles, he should have an opportunity first of clearly understanding what he is asked to do; and, secondly, of hearing the arguments which may be adduced against it. But this is the very last thing which ministers desire that he should have. What they wish to do is to hustle the unlucky elector to the polling-

booth, and bully him into voting for the government on penalty of being denounced as a Little-Englisher, a pro-Boer, and a traitor.

The general elector is a noun of multitude, signifying many. There are estimated to be between 5,000,000 and 6,000,000 of him on the register in England and Wales, of whom probably not 3,000,000 will vote. Scotland and Ireland have about 750,000 each; 200,000 will probably not vote in Scotland, and 400,000 in Ireland. Altogether, the general elector is about 6,700,000 strong, of whom about 4,250,000 may go to the poll.

To enable such a multitudinous personage to record his vote is a costly operation. At the last general election it cost 3s. 8*1/2*d. per head all around. In Scotland he cost 4s. 7*1/2*d. to poll, in Ireland 3s. 1*1/2*d., while in England his vote could be recorded for only 3s. 10d. This was cheaper than it cost to poll him in 1885, when he averaged 4s. 5d. per head. In 1886 his voting cost dropped to 4s. In 1892 he cost a little over 3s. 10d. The cost of polling him differs materially according to whether he lives in county or borough. The average in 1892 was 5s. in counties and 3s. in boroughs. The total costs of the expenses incurred at the 1885 election was £1,026,645; but in 1886, owing to the great number of uncontested seats, the bill for election expenses fell to £624,000. In 1892 it rose to £958,000; in 1895 it fell again to £773,000.

The million-headed general elector is somewhat limited in the range of his choice. He has to elect 670 persons out of about double that number of candidates. In 1892 there were 1,307 candidates; in 1895, 1,181. About 500 or 600 defeated candidates have to lament their rejected addresses.

At the present election, owing to the fact that the new register does not come into force till January 1, 1901, in England, and November 1 in Scotland, it is estimated that 1,000,000 electors duly qualified will not be able to record their vote. This is an outside estimate. Sir W. Harcourt says that 1,500 are disqualified in his own constituency. So we take it that the snatch at a "khaki" majority deprives 500,000 persons of their vote. To disfranchise 500,000 in order to obtain a majority for a war waged to obtain the vote for 20,000 persons two years earlier than it was offered is thoroughly in keeping with the topsy-turvy kind of reasoning by which the general elector is exhorted to support the government.

The system by which the general elector is registered sorely stands in need of reform. A person must be an occupier of a house or other premises for twelve months previous to July 31,

or a proprietor for six months before the same date. When this qualification is admitted, the voter's name is entered on the register on August 1; but he does not become entitled to vote in England till the January following, and in Scotland till the November following. As this election takes place in October, it is fought on a roll of voters made up fourteen months previously.

Another thing that urgently requires reform is that the returning officer's expenses necessary to enable the general elector to make known his will must at present be borne by the candidates who solicit his suffrages. The last four general elections entailed a cost of £3,381,000, so that every candidate had to pay from £500 to £600 for the purpose of ascertaining the will of the electors. Less than half of this sum represents the returning officer's expenses. The other part is that which the candidate spends in promoting his own candidature. It is unnecessary to point out how this operates in discouraging the candidature of poor men, and acts as a premium upon the plutocrat.

The general elector is a strange and even whimsical entity. A very slight change in the balance of his opinion produces an altogether disproportionate result in the balance of parties. This appeared very plainly at the last election. In 1892 the Liberals had a plurality in the votes of 205,825, with a resultant majority in the House of Commons of only 40. In 1895 the Unionists had a plurality of only 36,981, but it yielded them a Parliamentary majority of 152. The total vote cast in 1895 was 2,406,898 Conservative against 2,369,917. If the majority in the House had corresponded to that outside, the Ministerialists would not have had more than 20 to carry on legislation with.

This, however, is but a small thing compared to the extraordinary difference there is between the voting value of the general elector in different parts of his domain. The Liberals, who raise the cry of one man-one vote, point out that there are 500,000 persons who have more than one vote, owing to their residential or property qualifications in more than one constituency. "One vote—one value!" cries the Unionist, who points out that in England it takes 10,521 electors to return one member, whereas in Scotland 9,321 suffice, and in Ireland only 7,000. Seventy thousand electors in Ireland have 10 members; 70,000 in England only 7. And in England the same disproportion exists between one constituency and another—from all of which it appears that the general elector is fearfully and wonderfully made.

Besides, the unfortunate general elector is really living in a vain show. He is but a puppet czar

at best. When the 5,000,000 of him have with infinite pains been enabled to record their sovereign will and pleasure, and have succeeded in returning a majority on one side or another, he is apt to consider, when he has returned a Liberal majority, that, to quote Hosea Biglow, he has only just been changing the holders of offices. The new Parliament meets, and the general elector waits to see the result of his exertions. There is a new ministry, no doubt, and so far that is to the good; but when that new ministry gets to work, it finds itself in a very different position from that of a minister charged with a ukase from a real czar. If the election has taken place upon one specific point, and the response of the general elector has been decisive and overwhelming, then it is possible that a bill embodying the views of the elector may pass into law; but that is only when the elector's will has been unmistakably made known, not for the first time, but for the second, and even for the third.

On all other questions on which the general elector has expressed a decided opinion, but which could not be said to be the dominant issue submitted to him at the general election, he is absolutely powerless to prevent the rejection of any and every bill in which his wishes are embodied. In other words, while the general elector is mocked with a semblance of power, the real scepter is held in permanence by the House of Lords, whose 578 members appeal to no constituency, but sit by virtue of hereditary privilege and right of birth, with a perpetual mandate to veto any and every scheme submitted by the House of Commons which they do not like, and which is not literally forced upon them by overwhelming popular pressure. The grand elector, therefore, while he can make a Liberal statesman a prime minister, and can pass one bill, if he is very angry and has expressed his opinion with emphasis when appeal was made to him, upon that specific question, has no more power beyond this. Our so-called democracy is really a vast oligarchy; and until there is radical alteration in the position and power of the House of Lords, every general election is more or less of a solemn farce. Of course, when the majority is Conservative, it does not matter, for then the two Houses are in accord; but how much longer the general elector will consent to be ruled in permanence by the Conservatives, whose majority in the House of Lords is as overwhelming as it is unchangeable, remains to be seen. But that such an arrangement should continue to exist seventy years after the reform bill is a striking proof of the ease with which a democracy can be cheated out of the substance of power if it is allowed to play with the bauble of the semblance of things.

LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH.

THE TRUTH ABOUT MARK HANNA.

A REMARKABLE article in the November *McClure's*, by William Allen White, under the laconic title "Hanna," sketches with great ability the career and the public and private personality of the manager of the Republican campaign. There is a ring to Mr. White's very readable sentences which is calculated to make the reader feel he has fathomed the extraordinary man of action.

MR. HANNA'S BUSINESS CAREER.

Mr. Hanna is sixty-three years old, and was born in Ohio. His family have been Quakers for a hundred years. His father kept a grocery store in Cleveland, and Mark Hanna went to Western Reserve University, leaving in a year to learn the grocery business, which had grown into a wholesale concern. When he was in his early twenties his father became ill, and Mark Hanna undertook the management of the business, the responsibility devolving upon him entirely in 1862, on his father's death. He was thirty years old when he married, and went into business with his father-in-law, Daniel P. Rhodes, whose firm dealt in coal, iron ore, and pig-iron.

"That was a generation ago. Young Hanna threw himself into that business with passionate enthusiasm. He learned the iron trade from the bottom, omitting no circumstance. He was insatiably curious. He had an artist's thirst to know the how of things. He learned about coal-mines and bought coal-lands, learned about ore and bought mines, learned about boats and bought boats. Then he took his iron and his coal, and he built the first steel boats that ever plowed the lakes. He established foundries and forges and smelters. Men worked for him from western Pennsylvania to the base of the Rockies. He knew his men, and he knew the work they did. He knew the value of a day's work, and he got it; he also paid for it. Where there was labor trouble, the contest was short and decisive. Hanna met the men himself. Either things were right or they were wrong. If he thought they were wrong, he fixed them on the spot. If he believed they were right, the work went on."

HIS MEETING WITH WILLIAM M'KINLEY.

Mark Hanna first met William McKinley when he went down into western Ohio to prosecute some strikers under arrest for shaft-burning. They were defended by a young lawyer, who was

William McKinley. He did his work so well that most of the miners went scot-free. Hanna took a liking to his young opponent, and a friendship began and continued to the present day.

MR. HANNA'S MANY BUSINESS SIDES.

But Mr. Hanna has been a good many things besides dealer in pig-iron. He is a tremendous worker, and asks none of his employees to work as hard as he does. After he had reduced mining to a system, he added shipping, and when he had reduced that to a system he took on ship-building. When this was reduced to its lowest terms he built a street railway, making the cars of his coal and iron and the rails of his steel. Incidentally, he made such an exact science of the labor problem that there has never been a strike on his system. Curiously enough, after these commercial achievements, he took a fancy to the theatrical business. He bought the town opera-house, and began studying the gentle art of making friends with the theatrical stars of the world. He learned the business of friendship as thoroughly as he learned the iron and coal and steel and ship and railway business. To-day he has the friendship of men like Jefferson, Irving, Francis Wilson, Robson, and Crane, and the best of the playwrights. In the early eighties Hanna started a bank, and worked as its president. "When he was watching the wheels go round, looking at the levers and cogs, and making the bank part of his life, Hanna began to notice remarkable movements in the works. For some years the fly-wheel would not revolve; at other times it turned too rapidly. He went through the machinery with hammer and screws, but he found that the trouble lay outside the bank. He traced it to iron ore; through that to coal, and still it deluded him. The trouble was outside the things he knew. It was in the loadstone of politics."

THE BUSINESS MAN IN POLITICS.

So Mr. Hanna went into politics, organized the Cleveland Business Men's Marching Club in 1880, and invented, so to speak, the business man in politics. He studied the machinery of politics thoroughly, as a practical man untrammeled by the rules of the thing as the books laid them down; and he came to the conclusion that it would be a good thing to have a proper adjustment of the tariff, a government subsidy for American shipbuilders, and some straightening

up of the national-currency shaft of the American working-machine. These things, he thought, would provide more work, more sweat, more business, and more dividends.

"In the meantime, for twenty years, his friendship for the young lawyer who defended the miners had been growing. He grappled it to him as he grappled his business ambition—with all his heart and mind. It became as much a part of him as the mines and the ships and the steel things that he loved. McKinley satisfied something in Hanna. The Canton lawyer was industrious. He was clean. He was reliable. He was ambitious. Hanna's friendship displayed these virtues in the market of public esteem, and held them at their par value. In 1896 Hanna's energy incorporated McKinley, and every business house in the United States, from Wall Street to the carpenter's shop on the alley, took stock. Hanna promoted the candidacy of McKinley before the St. Louis convention. He put in that campaign, which ended in the St. Louis convention, every trained faculty which had made him a successful captain of trade."

MR. HANNA TO-DAY.

What Mr. Hanna did in 1896 for Mr. McKinley and the Republican party is fresh in every one's mind. Mr. White says that Hanna seems to be ten years older than he was four years ago. "The ruddy, terra-cotta skin that glowed with health in 1896 has faded to ashen pink. The mobile smile, that was a conversation without words, has hardened a little—but only a little. The lower parts of his legs are slightly uncertain, and his feet almost shuffle. The large, firm hand grips his cane with something like nervousness. The thin hair hangs more listlessly to the head than it used to hang; but the jaws are wired with steel, and the brown eyes—and these are Hanna's harbor-lights—twinkle with the fervor of a schoolboy's. They show forth an unconquered soul and a merry heart that maketh a glad countenance. Hanna's life at Washington has not taken the edge from his humanity. Indeed, so far as he bears any relation to the present national administration, Hanna is the human touch." Mr. White denies that Hanna is a boss. He says he cannot be—first, because a national boss is as impossible to the American people as a national monarch; secondly, Hanna has too well developed a sense of humor to be a boss, if he would be. Yet in national politics he is a very strong man,—exceptionally so,—simply because he is efficient. "Hanna is a force, not an intrigue. Politics is not his trade; he is a business man first, and a politician afterwards; yet he is not a dilettante politician.

RELATIONS WITH THE ADMINISTRATION.

"The relations existing between Hanna and his friend William McKinley, President of the United States, are particularly interesting. The popular notion of these relations is derived from newspaper cartoons. Probably at least 5,000,-000 of the 15,000,000 citizens who will vote at the coming election imagine that Hanna tramps noisily into the White House every morning, gruffly gives his orders for the day's administration to the shivering President, and then walks out and continues to grind the faces off the poor; but the real relations existing between Hanna and McKinley are stranger than fiction. It is McKinley, not Hanna, that controls. The masterful, self-willed, nimble-witted, impetuous, virile Hanna in the presence of the placid, colorless, imperturbable, emotionless, diplomatic, stolid McKinley becomes superficially deferential and considerate of the Presidential dignity, almost to an unnecessary degree. It is known to all men at all familiar with McKinley's administration that, in the differences which have come up in the discussion of administrative affairs, when Hanna has been consulted at all, he has almost invariably yielded his opinion to McKinley's. The friendship—one might call it almost the infatuation of Hanna for McKinley—is inexplicable on any other theory save that of the affinity of opposites. History has often paralleled this affair, but has never fully explained her parallels.

COMPULSORY VOTING.

IN *Harper's Weekly* for October 13, Mr. Louis Windmüller describes the compulsory voting regulations of Belgium.

"Elections are held under the supervision of a magistrate and police commissioner, who must have corrected lists of all the voters in their precincts before them. The officers see to it, not alone that the votes are properly cast, but also that they are all cast. The man who neglects to vote is cited at once to appear before a justice, who either reprimands or fines him, unless he can show that he was excused from coming by proper authority granted before election day. A second offense is more severely punished, and the name of the refractory citizen, with a statement of his delinquencies, is published by the magistrate and posted on the gates of the town-hall. The man who, without excuse, has abstained from voting four times in ten years is considered unworthy of citizenship; his name is stricken from the poll-lists, and for ten subsequent years he is debarred from holding any public office. Whoever is convicted of having

intentionally absented himself from the polls for the purpose of affecting the result of any election is fined to the extent of 500 francs and imprisoned for a month, together with the person who may have induced him so to act."

For such voters as have ceased to live where they are registered, free transportation is provided. In Switzerland and some other European countries, punishments are inflicted on non-voters.

THE CANADIAN ELECTIONS.

"A FORECAST of the General Elections," which will take place throughout the Dominion on November 7, by M. E. Nichols, appears in the *Canadian Magazine* for October. From this article one is able to approximate a conservative estimate of the prospects of a Liberal continuance in power. The Liberals have lost some of their adherents of former days through a failure to effect promised reforms.

"The Laurier government is likely to suffer from the feeling that the ideals energetically fought for in the dark days of the Liberal party no longer guide its leaders. The Ontario elector who was told that the national debt would shrink under Liberal rule has seen it enter into the spirit of growing time. The annual expenditure which, according to Sir Richard Cartwright, Hon. David Mills, and Hon. William Mulock, was ruinously extravagant at \$38,000,000, is now millions in excess of the outlay which this eminent trio bewailed. The farmer has not seen the duty disappear from agricultural implements; the gates of the American markets have not opened to him at Sir Wilfrid Laurier's touch. Members of parliament have accepted offices of emolument under the Crown, even as in the days when Liberals characterized this as a disgraceful assault upon the independence of parliament. Railways which were to cease fattening from the country's resources, fare as well, if not better, under Liberal rule. Perhaps Ontario Liberalism expected too much; but there can be no doubt that the party's failure in power to make good its many promises has subdued much of the enthusiasm which characterized the party in its opposition days. The approaching battle will not see the Liberal party fighting in such unison and enthusiasm. While they are not likely to change their political faith, many of them will be more or less indifferent as to the result, and indifference is one of the greatest dangers that can beset a party."

THE EFFECT OF PROSPERITY.

On the other hand, some of the same elements that seem to presage Republican victory in the

United States must be counted on the side of the party in power in Canada; for, notwithstanding all the Liberal shortcomings of the past four years (nearly coincident, by the way, with the McKinley administration), we are assured that "Conservative expectation from these and other sources must be discounted by the fact that the fates have smiled on the country during the period of Sir Wilfrid Laurier's administration. Prosperity is the friend and adversity the relentless enemy of governments. Wrath at misdemeanors, which the opposition leaders are improving every hour to point out, is tempered by the feeling that the country is going ahead."

"One other saving influence the Liberal party can depend upon. It will not have the manufacturers' great power arrayed against it, as when the Liberal government threatened the removal of protective duties. The Laurier government, by maintaining the high tariff, has shown the manufacturers the folly of their fears, and that important influence will now be directed along more natural lines."

ESTIMATES BY PROVINCES.

Conceding a slight conservative gain in Ontario, Mr. Nichols regards the probabilities as decidedly favorable to the Liberals in Quebec, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia. In the country west of Lake Superior, however, the Liberal outlook is dark indeed. Manitoba, the Territories, and British Columbia together embrace seventeen constituencies, of which the Liberals can hardly hope to carry more than five. Three representative Liberals of the West—Messrs. Richardson, Oliver, and McInnes—are in revolt.

Mr. Nichols says, in conclusion:

"The majority of twenty-two seats which Ontario and the West may give the opposition is more than offset by the prospective Liberal majority in Quebec. With three seats in reserve coming out of Ontario, Quebec, Manitoba, British Columbia, and the Territories, the Laurier government can rely on a majority of eight or ten in the Maritime Provinces. This estimate, therefore, based on a careful analysis of the conditions in all the provinces assures the administration of a second term at Ottawa with a comfortable majority at its back."

THE TARIFF AND THE ELECTIONS.

A writer in the *Queen's Quarterly*, of Kingston, Ont., discusses the bearings of the preferential tariff on the fortunes of the two parties in the present contest. The preferential tariff, he says, is an accepted fact, not likely to be disturbed.

"The preferential tariff in favor of Great Britain, as against foreign nations, has been

such a success that it is rather disappointing that the Conservatives have not embraced it as their own, and that the Liberals do not seem to see how far-reaching it may be in national and imperial results. It is not against Canadians. They have still a preference in their favor, to the extent of two-thirds of our tariff, while the British farmer and manufacturer, who bear the atlantean burden of the empire, have no preference in their favor in their own markets. That, in these circumstances, we should clamor for 'a mutual preference' is colossal cheek. It is irrational to think of any such preference until we stand on a common platform with our fellow-subjects. We can get to that position only by slow degrees, and along the line of the Fielding tariff. A man who believes that Britain will put taxes on all her food and all raw material for her manufactures, for the sake of a slight increase in 3 per cent. of her trade, for that is our share of her business, could make himself believe anything.

HOW THE PREFERENTIAL TARIFF HAS HELPED CANADA.

"The one question to be asked is, Has our preferential tariff injured or helped us? There can be only one answer to that. It helps the consumer, for it has lowered the taxes he has to pay, not only on British goods, but on all goods that compete with them in our markets. Increase the preference, and at the same time help the Canadian as against the American manufacturer by raising our duties to the American scale against Canada, imitation being a sincere form of flattery to which no one can object. It helps the producer by gradually increasing the incoming of British goods, and so providing return freights for the steamers that carry his stuff to the great, permanent, ever-hungry British market. Till that is done on a larger scale, our producers have to pay freights both ways. It also helps the revenue, for the way to increase revenue is by lowering the taxes. It also helps us as borrowers, for it has led Britain to include ours among the preferential securities in which trustees must invest. Here is 'a mutual preference' freely given to us, and along a line involving no disturbance to British trade. A solid preference it is, worth millions to us; and it helps us, in other ways, by making the British public inclined to buy our stuff in preference to any other. If it helps Britain also, so much the better. We are in the same imperial boat with her."

On the other hand, the Hon. John Charlton, writing in the October *Forum*, contends that Canadian imports from the United States have materially increased under the operation of the tariff.

THE BRITISH GENERAL ELECTION.

MR. HENRY W. LUCY, the well-known "Toby, M.P.", of *Punch*, describes, for the readers of the October *Forum*, the *modus operandi* of a British general election. At the beginning of his article he points out certain general differences between our Presidential election and the general election in Great Britain. One primary distinction lies in the fact that the former is largely a matter of personal preference, while the latter is a conflict of principles. "It is true that while Disraeli and Gladstone were yet alive and confronted each other in the political arena, the fight raged as closely and distinctly around a name and a personality as is the custom at Presidential elections. In 1874 and in 1880 the electors throughout the kingdom did not profess to vote either as Liberals or Tories. They voted for Gladstone or Disraeli.

CONTRASTED WITH A PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN.

"With the passing away of those colossal figures, the British general election has reverted to its former manner. Lord Salisbury is a statesman who, even beyond the limits of the party pale, is held in the highest esteem. But his is not a name to conjure with at the polls. On the other side, Mr. Gladstone has left no successor. Accordingly, the forthcoming general election will be fought, as far as Ministerialists can control it, on the question of the war in South Africa, while opposition candidates will endeavor to concentrate the attention and judgment of the electors on the shortcomings of the administration in respect to the conduct of the war, and on the sins of omission and commission committed by the government during their more than five years' term of office. Another fundamental difference between the two electoral campaigns appears in their inception and direction. A Presidential election is a more or less well-ordered battle, every movement being directed by the commander-in-chief on either side. A British general election is a series of independent skirmishes, taking place all over the country, each under local command, owning no supreme general, observing no common plan of battle. The British voter knows nothing of delegates, conventions, or party managers. He walks into the polling-booth and votes directly for the man of his choice. It is true that both the Conservative (now the Unionist) and the Liberal parties have a paid official who is supposed to undertake general supervision of party interests in the electorate throughout the kingdom. He is generally consulted by constituencies in the selection of a candidate. What he tenders in response is advice, not instruction."

MONEY FOR CAMPAIGN PURPOSES.

"A great gulf, wide as the Atlantic, separates the party manager of the Presidential election campaign from the chief agent of the Liberal or the Unionist party in England. While one has almost an unlimited supply of money at his command, and is not too grievously hampered in disposing of it for campaign purposes, the other has but a meager subscription-list, and is bound hand and foot by the corrupt practices act. It is that legislation which has crippled the political party agent in Great Britain. The election agent is bound by law, under heavy penalties, to keep strict account and make full disclosure of every penny spent."

DURATION OF PARLIAMENTS.

Although the British House of Commons is elected for a period of seven years, it has never availed itself of its full opportunity of life. As a rule, it accepts dissolution at its sixth session.

"The present Parliament, which assembled for a short session on August 12, 1895, was a few days short of attaining its fifth year when it was prorogued. There is, therefore, no statutory reason why it should not sit through another session, the dissolution being postponed till January—perhaps, on the whole, the most widely convenient month of the year for a general election.

"Experience testifies to the sufficiency of a five-year term. Since Queen Victoria came to the throne she has summoned fourteen Parliaments. Of these, only six have exceeded the term of five years. One, memorable for its accomplished work, exceeded the date by the narrow margin of one month and sixteen days. This was the great Parliament of 1868, in which Mr. Gladstone commenced his colossal labor of legislative reform. Meeting on December 10, 1868, it was dissolved on January 26, 1874. The second Parliament of the Queen's reign, summoned in 1841, lasted five years, eleven months, and six days. In the century only three Parliaments have timidly entered upon their septennial year. The first Parliament of George IV. trenched by one month and nine days upon its sev-

enth year. The Parliament of 1859 lived for six years and two months. The Parliament of 1874, which first saw Disraeli in power, as well as in office, enjoyed for twenty days its septennial privilege.

"The duty of advising the sovereign as to the proper date for dismissing the sitting Parliament is not, as is commonly assumed, a cabinet matter. It is a fact that when, early in 1874, Mr. Gladstone decided to dissolve Parliament, some of his colleagues in the cabinet were first made acquainted with his decision on opening their morning papers. The sole arbiter in the case is the prime minister. In the time of the Georges the sovereign had a good deal to say in the business. In some royal moods the fact that the premier desired to bring about an immediate dissolution led the king to conclude that he would keep Parliament sitting a little longer. In these times the will of the first minister of the Crown is not disputed. But it is the sovereign who summons 'my faithful commons' to repair to Westminster. Parliament dissolved, there is promulgated an order from the Queen in council, addressed to the Lords High Chancellors of Great Britain and Ireland, commanding them to cause writs to be issued for the election of knights, citizens, and burgesses to serve in Parliament. At least thirty-five days must elapse between the date of this mandate and the meeting of the Parliament."

In 1900, the decision to dissolve Parliament was taken at a cabinet council held on Septem-



(News of the World.)

THE BATHING SEASON.

JOSEPH: "Come on, Markiss, let us take the plunge now. The water is beautifully warm, and the dip is sure to strengthen us."

ber 17, when the Queen signed the necessary proclamation. On September 25 the writs were issued summoning the new Parliament for November 1. The entire campaign, therefore, occupied a period of only six weeks.

CONTINUITY OF PARTY PRINCIPLES IN ENGLAND.

GREAT and sacred is the principle of continuity in our ever-changing human affairs ; and the editor of the new *Monthly Review* performs a pious task in trying to trace an unbroken sequence of party lines in the present political tangle in Great Britain. His paper on parties and principles sets out to prove that neither Conservative nor Liberal has changed his ultimate principles. In home affairs "the division is as genuine and fundamental to-day as it has ever been."

THE "FUNDAMENT DIVISION."

The Conservative still wishes to conserve the existing order, and only introduces changes to conserve it more thoroughly. He is, in the main, content with what is. The Liberal is not content, but aspires after a loftier national ideal. In the writer's own words :

" This distinction in temperament involves a difference in the spirit in which political problems are faced by the two parties. To a statesman imbued with Conservative instincts, government is chiefly an intellectual problem of deep interest—an adjustment of forces here and there ; a studying of the influences which are working beneath the surface, and a planning how to modify and curtail their operation in order that, notwithstanding the change of conditions, the social fabric may remain uninjured—that is, substantially unchanged. On the other hand, the political action of the genuine Liberal arises far more from a moral, almost a religious, impulse. Much ridicule has been thrown upon the extravagances of what is called 'the Nonconformist conscience,' but it should be remembered that this conscience has a positive as well as a negative side.

" Since the propelling force in the case of the Liberal is not mere sympathy, but a desire for progressive improvement towards what he deems a higher ideal of national life, the genuine Liberal is never really content with those 'measures of circumspection tentative in their character' to which Lord Salisbury pledged his party, but treats them as mere installments of a temporary kind, while he presses on towards the more thorough fulfillment of a sacred duty and the realization of a more ideal scheme of life."

LIBERALISM THE SAME IN THE NEW ERA.

The writer is bold enough to declare that, between "the impulse and ideals" of the Liberals of to-day and those of fifty years ago, there is not only kinship but "a real identity." He accepts as a summary of "the ideal and doctrine of Liberalism" the phrase "liberty and equality through progress." In the working out of this formula, he grants the party has entered on a new era :

" A new era seems to be coming inevitably upon Liberalism—an era in which less emphasis will be laid upon constitutional problems, which are ceasing to touch the hearts and consciences of the electorate, but an era in which the energies of the Liberal party will be directed more and more to the production of social and economic equality and liberty by new methods of administration and by constructive legislation. In other words, there is a twofold development in progress. It seems that the Liberal party, in order to apply its principles to the actual needs of contemporary life, must now pass from the destructive to the constructive stage, and from constitutional to social reform. At present the party suffers from the process of transition, and as yet it scarcely believes in what is logically its future. Thus it loses all the impetus and enthusiasm which arise from certainty of conviction, and is inclined to cast its eyes back on controversies which are really extinct."

FROM GRUB TO BUTTERFLY.

The plain man will doubtless be willing to believe as firmly in the identity of the old and the new as he believes in the identity of grub and butterfly. But he may turn out to be as unwilling to call the new by the old name as he is to call a butterfly a grub. At present he seems inclined to restrict "Liberal" to the grub, and to find another name (is it "Progressive"?) for the butterfly. The writer shows no qualms of this kind ;—caterpillar, chrysalis, butterfly,—it shall be for him always Liberal. He has no programme to offer.

" If the Liberals are to fulfill their proper function in the political life of the country, they will do well to put the attainment of office for the moment into the background of their minds, and to devote themselves to the fostering and popularizing of Liberal thought among their countrymen."

NO BREAK-UP OF PARTY SYSTEM.

His conclusion will be comforting to party managers, and is eminently conservative :

" The principles upon which the Conservative

and Liberal organizations are based are to-day, in our opinion, so vital, real, and distinct that, given capable leaders and reasonable discipline, there is not only no necessity for any break-up of our twofold party system, but it is really essential to our political life that these broad principles should remain clear and unconfused, and that the inevitable controversy between government and opposition, between those in office and those out of office, should neither have nor be thought to have any less broad or less honorable foundation."

THE BRITISH EMPIRE'S GROWTH IN THE CENTURY.

M R. J. HOLT SCHOOLING gives graphic shape, in the *Pall Mall Magazine*, to the statistics of area and population which mark the growth of "The British Empire: 1800-1900." The facts which he illustrates may be quoted.

"During 1800-1900 the British empire has increased at the rate of two acres per second. In 1800 the United Kingdom had a colonial area equal to 16 times its own area; in 1900 the United Kingdom has a colonial area equal to 96 times its own area. Roughly, the increase has been from 2,000,000 to 12,000,000 square miles."

If the Orange River Colony and the Transvaal be taken into account, the colonial area is now more than 97 times that of the home country.

The French colonial area is only 18 times the size of France, the German colonial area only five times the size of Germany.

In population, the British empire has risen from 115,000,000 in 1800 to 390,000,000 in 1900. In the same interval the United Kingdom has risen from 15,000,000 to 41,000,000, France from 27,000,000 to 39,000,000, the states now Germany from 21,000,000 to 55,000,000.

The population of the British empire outside of the United Kingdom was, in 1800, about 100,000,000, of whom only 2,000,000 were white. Now it numbers 349,000,000, of whom 12,000,000 are white; then one person in fifty was a white, now one person in twenty-eight is a white.

The British empire is peopled at the rate of 33 persons to the square mile. Mr. Schooling reckons that its entire crew of 349,000,000 could stand together on a square measuring four miles either way. And he concludes his paper with the comfortable assurance that this great mass would, with an overwhelming majority of voices, declare that their lands had been the better for British rule.

ENGLAND'S MILITARY PRESTIGE ABROAD.

IN the *Fortnightly Review* for October, Captain Gambier, who has made a careful study of the reports of the foreign military attachés, both with the British army and with the Boers, in the recent war, gives us a summary of their opinions which is anything but flattering to English pride.

NO BRITISH NEED APPLY.

According to Captain Gambier, the South African war so destroyed all Britain's claims to be a military nation that the suggestion that a British general should command the Peking relief force very nearly wrecked the joint action of the powers.

"But the plain, unvarnished English of it was that under no consideration would the allies consent to be led by an English general. For it is now an open secret, freely discussed among the best informed—the common knowledge of every clerk in the foreign office—that extremely humiliating negotiations passed between England and the other powers with reference to this affair of the generalissimo."

FOREIGN VIEWS OF THE BRITISH ARMY.

The following is Captain Gambier's summary of the way in which England's military power is regarded abroad :

"Prestige, after a war, does not of a necessity fall to the conqueror; and there is no lesson that the Boer war should more forcibly bring home to us than the plainly demonstrable fact that our military prestige is most seriously impaired in the estimation of those abroad whom it behooves to measure our strength. It cannot be seriously denied that among nine-tenths of the inhabitants of Europe, and possibly among a larger proportion of those Asiatic nations whose belief in our military strength is essential to our existence, not only is our military organization beneath ridicule, but the very *matériel* of which our armies is constituted has proved itself anything but invincible and quite the reverse of formidable, while in point of training and of any intelligent grasp of modern warfare that we are held to be precisely where we were at the end of the Crimean War."

AN ITALIAN CRITICISM.

Captain Gambier takes the report of the friendly Italian general, Count Luchino dal Verme, as a specimen of foreign opinion :

"'What astonished all military men,' says the count, 'who were accustomed to regard the British troops as so brave, was to see 2,200 men in the open in broad daylight, only a few miles from their camp, surrendering to an enemy, or,

at any rate, not having made that enemy pay dearly for their temerity.' I say it is folly to blink these facts. This story of the 'surrender' was copied with avidity into every newspaper on the face of the earth; and not that surrender alone, but numerous others, with piteous tales of bungling and ineptitude, which all the cheering and waving of flags by shopboys can never wipe out of the memory of our so-called allies in China. To follow this military and friendly critic through all the untold instances of want of scouting, to read his description of the ignorance we displayed of the elementary rules of war—our 'small detachments of cavalry scattered all over the country where they ought to be in force,' the 'endless requirements of men and officers in our infantry battalions' and, 'worst of all, the slow marching, for the English soldier carries very little and grumbles at having to carry so much' (God knows how true this is!)."

NO ENTRENCHMENTS.

Count dal Verme declared that the soldiers would not entrench, and as a consequence hundreds of lives were lost. The more reinforcements were sent the worse things became:

"As fast as men and guns were sent out, numbers of horses, mules, and drivers were dispatched . . . but all this was of no avail without previous organization. When all these supplies arrived at Cape Town and Durban, weeks were required to put them in order, and months passed before the transport began to work properly at the arduous task of supplying an army in the field. . . . The English were in a country traversed in every direction by roads, and even by railways."

Captain Gambier sums up these judgments as follows :

"Nations, even less than individuals, are capable of a just appreciation in such matters. Every reverse we had was hailed as a crushing defeat; every prisoner was a coward; every mistake or 'unfortunate incident' was the work of an incompetent general. And, honestly speaking, it is difficult to see how foreigners could think anything else—especially when the literal facts remain that the small Boer army of peasants had led away captive nearly 5,000 of our best regulars, had captured guns and convoys; that our generals were being bundled home, the situation only saved by a supreme effort, and by denuding the islands of Great Britain of almost every soldier of the regular army; when the official numbers, as given by our minister of war, showed that we had over 200,000 men and close on 500 guns in the field, while the Boers at no one moment ever had over 40,000 men; that by

March 3 we had lost 182 officers killed, 565 wounded; 1,593 men killed, 7,108 wounded; officers prisoners, 138; men, 3,191—a total of close on 13,000 men disposed of in actual battle by this handful of farmers and shopboys. I say it is no wonder that there has been no passionate desire by foreign armies to intrust the conduct of an extremely complicated and arduous campaign to our guidance. No sane man could expect they would carry fatuity to such a point."

WAR AGAINST WOMEN AND CHILDREN.

CLARENCE WATERER, in the *Westminster Review*, surveys afresh the dreary course of South African affairs, and finds in the raid and its condonation by the "Committee of No Inquiry" the *fons et origo mali*. He concludes his survey by showing the kind of war England's troops are now waging. First he cites this proclamation :

V.R.—PUBLIC NOTICE.

It is hereby notified for information that unless the Men at present on Commando, belonging to families in the Town and District of Krugersdorp, surrender themselves and hand in their arms to the Imperial Authorities by the 20th July, the whole of their property will be confiscated and *their families turned out destitute and homeless*. By order.

G. H. M. RITCHIE,

Capt. K. Horse, Dist. Supt. of Police.

Krugersdorp, July 9th, 1900.

"This proclamation was canceled a week later, and high prices are offered for copies of it by the imperial authorities. We can well understand their anxiety. Such a proclamation under the initials of the first lady of our realm might prove an inconvenient handbill even in a khaki election."

Next he quotes a letter of a Trooper Morris, published September 6, 1900 :

Since we are with Clements we have had plenty of work, burning farms, destroying crops, and commandeering cattle. It is very hard sometimes, but it must be done. Last Sunday six of us, including myself, went out with an imperial officer to a fine farm-house, giving the occupants five minutes to clear out all their goods as well as themselves. There were an old grandmother, three married daughters, and several children, crying and asking for mercy; but no! And when the time was up we burnt it to the ground.

"What an exhibition for a nation that has had the right to be proud of its record! Because with our 200,000 men we are unable to guard our communications, the raiding of which, it must not be forgotten, is a perfectly legitimate act of war—because of our failure to keep up our line of supplies, we devastate miles of country and turn defenseless women and children out destitute and homeless."

**DR. CONAN DOYLE'S LESSONS FROM THE
BOER WAR.**

THE first place in *Cornhill* for October is given to a paper by Dr. A. Conan Doyle, entitled "Some Military Lessons of the War." The writer begins with the comprehensive declaration "that the defense of the empire is not the business of a single warrior-caste, but of every able-bodied citizen."

INVASION OF ENGLAND—IMPOSSIBLE.

This apparently alarming demand is promptly followed by a piece of most cheering optimism. Dr. Doyle says :

"One of the most certain lessons of the war, as regards ourselves, is once for all to reduce the bugbear of an invasion of Great Britain to an



DR. A. CONAN DOYLE.

absurdity. With a moderate efficiency with the rifle the able-bodied population of this country could, without its fleet and without its professional soldiers, defy the united forces of Europe. A country of hedgerows would with modern weapons be the most terrible entanglement into which an army could wander. The advantage of the defense over the attack, and of the stationary force against the one which has to move, is so enormous and has been so frequently proved by the Boers against ourselves, as well as by ourselves against the Boers, that the invasion of Kent or Sussex, always a desperate operation,

has now become an impossible one. So much national consolation can we draw from the ordeal through which we have passed. While we can depend for the defense of our own shores upon some developed system of militia and volunteers, we can release for the service of the empire almost all the professional soldiers."

"ONLY ONE WEAPON IN THE WORLD."

The writer urges the need in the infantry of more liberal musketry practice, of greater facility in entrenching, and of better knowledge of cover. He would require the officer to carry a rifle, like his men, and to "take his profession more seriously." He says : "During five months' intercourse with officers, I have only once seen one of them reading a professional book." He would transform the cavalry wholly into mounted infantry. Dr. Doyle is very emphatic on one point :

"One absolutely certain lesson of this war is that there is—outside the artillery—only one weapon in the world, and that weapon is the magazine rifle. Lances, swords, and revolvers have only one place—the museum."

FIELD GUNS AND FIELD EXPLOSIVES.

Turning to the artillery, the writer does not think very highly of lyddite as employed against troops in open formation. The Boers he spoke to had no high opinion of it. He knows "of at least one case where a shell burst within seven yards of a man with no worse effect than to give him a bad headache." He anticipates the use of much heavier guns in the battlefield. "The greatest cannon of our battleships and fortresses may be converted into field pieces."

THE HOSPITAL SCANDALS.

Of the Bloemfontein epidemic, he says :

"The true statistics of the outbreak will probably never come out, as the army returns permit the use of such terms as 'simple continued fever'—a diagnosis frequently made, but vague and slovenly in its nature. If these cases were added to those which were returned as enteric (and they were undoubtedly all of the same nature), it would probably double the numbers, and give a true idea of the terrible nature of the epidemic. Speaking roughly, there could not have been fewer than from 6,000 to 7,000 in Bloemfontein alone, of which 1,300 died."

The lack of hospital accommodation he attributes to a very laudable motive :

"It sprang largely from an exaggerated desire, on the part of the authorities, to conciliate the Free Staters, and reconcile them to our rule. It was thought too high-handed to occupy empty

houses without permission, or to tear down corrugated iron fencing in order to make huts to keep the rain from the sick soldiers. This policy, which sacrificed the British soldier to an excessive respect for the feelings of his enemies, became modified after a time ; but it appeared to me to increase the difficulties of the doctors."

Dr. Doyle does blame the department for not having more medical men on the spot at a time when "Cape Town was swarming with civil surgeons."

A SCHEME OF ARMY REFORM.

On the general subject of army reform, Dr. Doyle does not agree with a common opinion that the army should be increased. Rather, he argues, "We should decrease the army in numbers, and so save the money which will enable us to increase its efficiency and mobility. When I say decrease the army, I mean decrease the number of professional soldiers ; but I should increase the total number of armed men upon whom we can call by a liberal encouragement of volunteering, and such an extension of the militia act as would give us at least a million men for home defense, setting free the whole of the highly trained soldiers for the work of the empire."

To the regulars he would give pay at the rate of half a crown a day.

ONLY 100,000 PICKED MEN.

He thus goes on to outline his scheme :

"Having secured the best material, the soldier should then be most carefully trained, so that the empire may never have the expense of sending out a useless unit. Granting that the professional army should consist of 100,000 men, which is ample for every requirement, I should divide them roughly into 30,000 mounted infantry, who should be the *élite*, trained to the last point, with every man a picked shot and rider. These might be styled the Imperial Guard, and would be strong enough in themselves to carry through any ordinary war in which we are likely to engage. Thirty thousand I should devote to forming a powerful corps of artillery, who should be armed with the best weapons which money could buy. Ten thousand would furnish the engineers, the army service corps, and the medical orderlies. There is no use in feeding and paying men in time of peace when we know that we can get them easily in time of war, and rapidly make them efficient. In all these three departments it would be practicable to fill up the gaps by trained volunteers when they are needed. For example, the St. John's Ambulance men showed themselves per-

fectly capable of doing the hospital duties in South Africa. From the various engineer battalions of volunteers the sappers could extend to any dimensions. There remain 30,000 men out of the original number, which should form the infantry of the line. These should preserve the old regimental names and traditions, but should consist of mere 'cadres'—skeleton regiments to be filled up in time of war. There might, for example, be 100 regiments, each containing 300 men. But these men, paid on the higher scale, would all be picked men and good rifle-shots, trained to the highest point in real warlike exercises."

MILNERISM IN SOUTH AFRICA.

M R. J. A. HOBSON contributes to the *Contemporary Review* for October a very vigorous article entitled "The Proconsulate of Milner." Mr. Hobson deals closely with certain features of the negotiations which led to the war, but the most interesting part of his article is that in which he compares Sir Alfred Milner with Sir Bartle Frere and with Froude, and characterizes his policy and temperament.

PARTIALITY AND ACADEMICISM.

The academic temper combined with dogmatism and partiality have been Sir Alfred Milner's ruin:

"For that academic temper and attitude of mind which made Mr. Froude such a lamentable failure in the task he set himself, are plainly discernible in Sir A. Milner, though in him they are combined with and in part concealed by other attributes. Both men are temperamental imperialists of the sentimental academic school, thoroughly convinced that British rule is 'the greatest secular agency for good known to the world,' and not disposed to entertain nice scruples as to the methods of extending so beneficent an agency. Sir A. Milner was commended by a dignitary of the Church, when he set forth on his South African mission, as 'the finest flower of human culture that the University of Oxford has produced in our time.' But there is reason to suspect that the intellectual atmosphere in which these 'flowers of human culture' are produced exercises some hardening influence on their humanity and morals; substituting for those warm, wholesome sympathies which are the safest guides in understanding our fellows and in regulating our conduct towards them a cold, critical demeanor of superiority which lays down carefully calculated ends, applies casuistic subtlety in adopting means, and is capable of fierce resentment and even persecuting zeal, if any attempt

be made to question their authority or thwart their will. This inhumanity is, of course, quite consistent with a certain superficial courtesy and even affability of manner, which, though not expressly so designed, serves as a glove upon the iron fist."

Sir Alfred Milner's political experience, says Mr. Hobson, was no better adapted to fit him for his work than was Sir Bartle Frere's:

"Sir Alfred Milner's experience fitted him in no degree for such a task ; it made him what he is—a strong-headed bureaucrat, extremely capable in the autocratic conduct of affairs ; able to impose his will upon inferiors, and to drive reluctant and evasive Easterns along paths of British 'good government,' but incapable of that genuine and full-hearted sympathy with the free and sturdy humanity of colonists who would not be driven, and unable to throw off the habits of his past official career."

A TEMPERAMENTAL JINGO.

The Blue Books alone are enough to show that Sir Alfred Milner, "partly from temperamental jingoism, partly from deficient power in judging character," allowed himself to become the instrument of the wreckers :

"As matters were nearing the catastrophe, he lost his head, and even permitted passion so to overrule his sense of common honesty as to mutilate that portion of Mr. Steyn's dispatch which he professed to transmit intact. Those who follow most closely his conduct since the outbreak of hostilities will best appreciate the chorus of applause with which he is greeted by the league and their financial backers. This 'strong man' destroys the constitutional self-government of the colony, openly espouses the league policy, and vehemently denounces those who seek 'conciliation'; utters historical speeches, in which he propounds the false finality of a never-again policy ; and trusts in militarism and disfranchisement as means of securing peace in South Africa. But it is the sheer collapse of intellect which stands out most clearly in the documents, the weird jumble of sharp reasoning and claptrap, the pitiful inability to distinguish good evidence from bad, which mark his dispatches."

Mr. Hobson concludes his article as follows :

"To claim actual success for Sir Alfred Milner's policy requires considerable effrontery. One may assume that Sir A. Milner did not want war ; yet he had three distinct opportunities of settlement upon terms and by methods honorable and profitable to Great Britain, and he evaded all of them ; he deceived the government into thinking Mr. Krüger would not fight,

being so deceived himself, and into believing that Free-State opinion was such as to preclude active, armed coöperation, believing this himself. This same man, governed by the same temper and receiving his information from the same sources, now asserts that an era of annexation for the republics and of martial law, followed by wholesale disfranchisement in the colonies, will form the basis of a lasting peaceful settlement in South Africa. It is reasonable to believe him, or to obey the demands of that *British South Africa* which has so often and so terribly deceived us with regard to the likelihood of war, and its measure and duration, when it seeks to place in Sir Alfred Milner's hands the full administration of the new order in South Africa."

THE SETTLEMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA.

THE *Contemporary Review* for October opens with an article by Mr. J. B. Robinson on the subject of the "South African Settlement."

JUSTICE TO THE BOERS.

Justice to the Boers is Mr. Robinson's motto. This is not, of course, justice as understood by the "pro-Boers," but justice as understood by a man who is firm for complete annexation. We quote Mr. Robinson's most definite suggestions :

"There will have to be in the Transvaal, as also in the Orange River Colony, a lieutenant-governor (acting under the high commissioner) and an executive council, and both states will have to remain crown colonies for a certain period ; unless, indeed, the two be administered as a single crown colony, which would be better. The executive council should consist of about twelve members, and it would be wisdom to offer four or five out of the twelve seats to the Boers. They might elect their own representatives, and the remaining seven would be nominees of the imperial government (advised, no doubt, in their selection by the loyalists in South Africa), who might be relied on to insist upon an enlightened system of administration. As to the four or five seats to be offered to the Dutch, I should not hesitate to offer them to Botha, De Wet, and other prominent men. Indeed, one of our greatest dangers for the future is lest the government of these new colonies should fail, as the government of the Transvaal failed in 1880, for want of knowledge of the people of South Africa. It is common enough for Englishmen, and Colonists, to suppose that they understand the Dutch population. After a war of conquest, it is frequently imagined that it matters but little whether the people are understood or not. Military government may be necessary for a brief period. It

should, however, be very brief ; for in military government it is not necessary to understand the governed. It is a system of order, not of justice—a state of siege. But when this transitory régime is over, it will be of the first importance not only to understand what the Dutch want, but so to act that when they realize that they are not set aside, but that they form a part of the subjects of a country ruled and governed on equitable lines, they will appreciate the position and fall into line with the general population."

FIRST END THE WAR.

If this is done, Mr. Robinson prophesies that there "will be no easier race in the world to govern than the Dutch." But first the policy of continuing the war of extermination must be abandoned, and overtures made to the Boer leaders.

"It may perhaps be said : 'The Boer diplomacy is very clever : is there not danger in opening any discussion ?' Perhaps so—any discussion of a general kind ; but that is no reason against the plain offer of a safe return home to the farms without transportation or confiscation, on condition of surrender of arms. I have said nothing of any armistice ; the offer would be one to be accepted or rejected at once. No doubt arms might be buried or concealed. But the amount of the armament is fairly well known, and it would be well to give notice that any concealment of arms would be punished by confiscation of property. Further, it is not so simple a matter to conceal arms ; the country swarms with natives ; and it is not easy to find the native from whom the sight of a few half-crowns would not draw any secret he had at command."

SOUTH AFRICA'S FUTURE.

As to the future development of South Africa, Mr. Robinson is, as ever, optimistic. It may become the greatest of British colonies :

"The resources of the Transvaal are endless. It is seamed with rich minerals of every kind. Its population, under a modern administration, will go up by leaps and bounds. It may well be, in population, wealth, and commerce our premier colony. Certainly the Vaal Colony will lead South Africa. Johannesburg is now the capital of South Africa, and such it will remain, while its trade with England will shortly become a mainstay of our home prosperity. What we are doing we must do well, and so build as to endure. Let us throw away all paltry, personal, and even racial considerations, and appoint to initiate its government men who will know how to construct, on the basis of two able races, a great and permanent commercial state."

JOHANNESBURG THE CAPITAL.

Johannesburg, he says, must be made the capital : and he gives the plausible reason that the Boer farmers as well as the industrials would find this the more convenient, as it would make the market for stock and the headquarters for business transactions the same place. Under the late government, Mr. Robinson says, the Boers were forced to come to Johannesburg to sell their stock, and then to make a second journey to Pretoria to carry out any business transactions. As to the expenses of the war, Mr. Robinson says :

"I have been asked how the expenses of the war are to be met. In my opinion there is no difficulty whatever in the question. The opening up of the Transvaal by an honest and fair administration will develop a trade with Great Britain which will tell heavily even on the magnificent figures of her exports and imports, and she ought to be prepared to pay a heavy share herself. Then the revenue from imports, licenses, etc., will rise enormously. Besides, the new Transvaal Government will inherit from the old very large estates in land—much of it gold-bearing—in addition to the state share in the railway—little or none of which, I have reason to believe, has been sold ; and this will provide also a large share of the £60,000,000 or £70,000,000 which the war seems likely to cost."

ON THE BEIRA RAILWAY.

IF the Siberian Railway beats the world for length, the Beira Railway easily holds the record for nastiness. A very interesting account of the Portuguese line is contributed to the *Contemporary Review* for October by Mr. L. Orman Cooper, who, if his account is not exaggerated, certainly must have had a tough constitution to survive and tell his experiences. The portion of Portuguese territory through which it lies is the plague-spot of the earth, "inhabited by every kind of beetle, bug, and insect which stings, buzzes, or smells." It is the region of the tsetze fly, and almost uninhabitable by Europeans.

AN ENGINEERING FEAT.

The Beira Railway is unique as an engineering feat :

"The sleepers are laid on piles to start with. The line slithers through miles of thick, dank, unfathomable mud. Then it crawls up steep hills, and intersects a forest in which lions, tigers, harte-beestes, etc., continually do cry. Its engines are fed with green wood. Its officials are mostly educated gentlemen down on

their luck.' In fact, it holds a unique place in the annals of railway work."

FEVERLAND.

The railway runs through a fever district, and accidents are so common that the company employs a physician to look after its employees. His life is not a pleasant one:

"He is continually on the move. One man is only able to look after about 200 miles of the railway. Even along that small area seldom a day passes but he has some one to mend up or physic. Sometimes he has to travel over 100 miles on a nigger-propelled trolley in order to look up one sick case; yet, at the same time, many die without attention. The fever on the Beira Railway is about the worst kind of fever to be met with anywhere. It never fails to attack the white man sooner or later. It is extremely stealthy in its onslaught, and nothing can be done to ward it off entirely. Windows shut at sunset, so as to prevent the dank, deadly mist which nightly arises from the swamps, can do something. Attention to hygiene, and avoiding the long grass in springtime and after sunset, can do more. Abstention from alcoholic beverages can do most of all; at least, attention to the latter detail very often prevents fatal effects."

VENOMOUS LIONS.

The country through which the railroad runs is infested with lions, who, in addition to their other virtues, have a poisonous bite:

"The lions roaring after their prey do seek their meat from God—at least so the Psalmist says. They seek it also *vid* man—fortunately not always with success. On one of these surveying expeditions a man fell off a tree close to the open mouth of a lion. (It was to escape the said lion he had climbed it.) The creature sucked in a toe. Then he let go in order to seize an ankle, and repeated the operation until he had the poor fellow's knee in his mouth. While the beast was chewing at the knee, a comrade was fumbling with the safety-cock of a magazine Colt rifle. Only for a moment. In another he had the trigger free, let fly, and killed the lion. The mangled man was terribly mauled, and had to be carried to a Dutch farm hard by. The *baas* was kind enough to him, but it was a ghastly sight to see the foul matter left by the lion's molars squeezed from the wounded leg daily. The man recovered after a long time; but many a one has succumbed to lion-poison, even when the wounds were apparently trifling. The smallest bite sometimes gangrenes in that terrible climate; so the onslaught of a lion has a double terror about it."

THE GROWTH OF THE RAILWAY.

The Beira Railway was opened for traffic as far as New Umtali in April, 1898.

"Old Umtali, its original terminus, was done away with then, because it was cheaper to compensate folks for their buildings, and give them new sites, than to bring the railway through the rugged country to the old town. The line was moved ten miles eastward at that date,—from the old to the new town,—and £70,000 was paid as compensation to the Umtalians for this change of route. It was while the extension of the railway from Beira to Salisbury was being made that the gauge was altered from two feet to that of the other Cape lines. At first it was only a contractor's line, practically, with only one train a week each way for passenger traffic. Now the trains are fairly numerous.

"For the first few years, too, the telegraph only went as far as Umtali. Now it is extended to Salisbury, and thus is in communication with Cape Town. In those days the postal arrangements were most disgraceful, as is every job undertaken by the Portuguese. Pioneers were quite shut off from civilization, and were dependent on the ships which came into Beira about five times a month, or on the post-cart from Salisbury."

THE LINE OF THE FUTURE.

In spite of all its drawbacks, Mr. Cooper thinks that the Beira route is the route of the future. The Cape Town-Buluwayo line is of so tremendous a length and so artificially created that its charges for freight are enormous. It will never, however, become noted for its attractions.

THE AMIR OF AFGHANISTAN.

"**D**ETAILS of My Daily Life" is the subject of a paper contributed to the first number of the *Monthly Review* by Abdur Rahman, the Amir of Afghanistan.

"From my childhood up to the present day," says the Amir, "my life is quite a contrast to the habits of living indulged in by nearly all other Asiatic monarchs and chiefs. They live for the most part a life of idleness and luxury; whereas I, Abdur Rahman, believe that there is no greater sin than allowing our minds and bodies to be useless and unoccupied in a useful way.

. . . My way of living and dressing has always been plain and simple and soldierlike. I have always liked to keep myself occupied day and night in working hard at something or other, devoting only a few hours to sleep. As habit is second nature, it has become a habit of mine,

that even when I am seriously ill, when I cannot move from my bed, I still keep working as usual at reading and writing documents and various government papers. . . . If my hands and feet cannot move from my bed, I can still go on moving my tongue to give orders to those about me, and tell them what I wish to be done. . . . I never feel tired, because I am so fond of work and labor." This love for work he owes to God Himself, for it is a matter of Divine inspiration. "The true ideal and desire of my life is to look after the flock of human beings whom God has intrusted to me as humble slave."

HIS DREAM.

Long before he became Amir, Abdur Rahman dreamed a dream, which he published and dis-

backward condition of my country, and how to defend it ; seeing that this poor goat, Afghanistan, is a victim at which a lion from one side and a terrible bear from the other side are staring, and ready to swallow at the first opportunity afforded them."

The Amir is a great dreamer, and many other dreams of his, all of which he tells to his courtiers, have come true. And so, having his life-work marked out before him in dreamland, he is able to go ahead and work with untiring energy to complete his task. It is curious, he says, that the harder he works, the more anxious he is to continue working.

"UNEASY LIES THE HEAD."

He usually goes to sleep about five or six in the morning, and gets up at two in the afternoon. During the whole of that time when he is in bed, his sleep is so disturbed that nearly every hour he wakes, and keeps on thinking about improvements. Then he goes to sleep again. As soon as he wakes, he sends for his doctor, who prescribes the medicine which he has to take that day. Then comes the tailor, bringing with him several plain suits in European style. After he has selected the one he will wear, he washes and dresses and has tea ; but during the whole of that time his officials stand looking at him, saying in their minds, "Oh, be quick ! Let us each put our work before you." As soon as breakfast is over, he is worried to death ; for no sooner does he appear at work than officials, sons, household servants, come in for instructions. Every page-boy, of whom there are hundreds, and men of the detective department, walk in upon him, with letters in their hands whenever any suffering person requires help or assistance. In this way he is pretty crowded. None of his subjects have one-tenth part of his work to do. He only gets a few minutes for his meals, and none at all for his family ; and even at meal-times his courtiers and officials keep on asking him questions !

HIS RECREATIONS.

In addition to all these officials, who are always in attendance upon him from the time he wakes until he goes to sleep, and in addition to the half a hundred persons who are thus surrounding him, he has always near the durbar-room, to be ready when required, a company of professional chess-players and backgammon-players, a few personal companions, a reader of books, and a story-teller. Musicians of several nationalities attend at night ; "and although I am never entirely free, yet the courtiers enjoy the music, and I listen in the intervals." When he rides out,



ABDUR RAHMAN.

(Amir of Afghanistan.)

tributed about the country. That dream was that before his death he should finish making a strong wall all around Afghanistan, for its safety and protection.

"The more I see of the people of other nations and religions running fast in the pursuit of progress, the less I can rest and sleep ; the whole day long I keep on thinking how I shall be able to run the race with the swiftest, and at night my dreams are just the same. There is a saying that the cat does not dream about anything but mice. I dream of nothing but the

every one of his personal attendants and servants starts with him. Altogether, with the cavalry, infantry, and artillery of the body-guard, he is always ready as a soldier on the march to a battle, and can start without delay at a moment's notice. The pockets of his coat and trousers are always filled with loaded revolvers, and one or two loaves of bread, for one day's food. A considerable number of gold coins are sewed into the saddles of his horses, and on both sides of the saddles are two revolvers. Several guns and swords are always lying by the side of his bed, or the chair on which he is seated, within reach of his hand, and saddled horses are always standing in front of his office. All his attendants go to sleep when he does, with the exception of the following, who keep awake in turn: the guards and their officers, the tea-bearer, the water-bearer, the dispenser, the bubble-bubble bearer, the valet, and the tailor, who has always to be at hand in order to do any repairs or to have instructions when the Amir thinks of them.

The Amir maintains that he has cleared out and abolished the cruel system of slavery, although he keeps the word slave to describe persons who are more honored and trusted than any other officials in the kingdom. If a slave is badly treated and the cruelty is proved, the slave has his liberty—"by my orders, because God has created all human beings children of One Parent, and entitled to equal rights."

HIS HOME LIFE.

He then goes on to describe his sitting-rooms and his bedrooms, and the way in which he furnishes them and pays allowances to his wives. He does not mention the exact number of his wives, although there seems to be an allusion to seven. "My wives," he says, "come and pay regular visits to me ten or twelve times in the year for a few hours at a time." If there are seven of them, and each comes ten times, the husband and wife meet about three times a fortnight. He opens all the letters with his own hand if they are addressed "not to be opened by any one excepting by the Amir," and he also writes the letter with his own hand. He tells us he has always loved beautiful scenery, flowers, green grass, music, pictures, and every kind of natural beauty. All his palaces command beautiful views. He is also very religious; for he has appointed directors throughout the whole country, who first of all advise people to attend the mosque five times a day for their prayers, and to fast in Ramadan; and then, if the people will not listen to their advice, they administer a certain number of lashes, "because a nation which is not religious becomes demoralized, and

falls into ruin and decay, and misbehavior makes people unhappy in this world and the next."

The Amir tells us that he writes books himself, but that he likes better to have them read to him, and that he likes his information in the form of fiction—from which it may be seen that the Amir is an intensely modern man. At the same time, his reasons for preferring to be read to are not very complimentary to the authors. He says:

"I do not go to sleep directly I lie down in bed, but the person who is specially appointed as my reader sits down beside my bed and reads to me from some books—as, for instance, histories of different countries and peoples; books on geography, biographies of great kings and reformers, and political works. I listen to this reading until I go to sleep, when a story-teller takes his place, repeating his narratives until I awake in the morning. This is very soothing, as the constant murmur of the story-teller's voice lulls my tired nerves and brain."

FIELD-MARSHAL COUNT WALDERSEE.

THE *Deutsche Revue* for October brings a short sketch by a German officer of the career and antecedents of Field-Marshal Count Waldersee, the commander-in-chief of the allied forces in China. The scion of an old, aristocratic family, which since the eighteenth century has given many eminent officers to the Prussian army, the count began his military career as artillery officer, celebrating last spring the golden jubilee of his service. As aid-de-camp of Emperor William I. he took a very prominent part in the Franco-Prussian War. "With the exception of Prince George and the King of Saxony, he is the only living German general in active service who has taken part in that war in a high responsible position, and who possesses the military experience that can only be gained in such a position to such an extent. . . . The count is in his sixty-ninth year—one year younger than Blücher was in the campaign against Napoleon, in 1813, or General von Moltke in the Franco-Prussian War. He shows traits of both. With Blücher he has in common the fearless rider's spirit that hesitates at no obstacle; from Moltke he has learned the calm 'weighing' of both sides of a question. Although an enthusiastic advocate of offensive action on a large scale, which alone is really decisive, and which aims to make the victory complete by energetic pursuit of the enemy, Count Waldersee knows that defensive action also has its place; and that he is never guided by preconceived opinions, he abundantly proved thirty years ago. Adding the diplomatic tact of which he has given abun-

dant proof, one must admit that among all the allied armies there is no other leader who brings to the solution of the present difficult and manifold tasks the same qualifications and the same experience as Count Waldersee."

HOW SHALL CHINA BE PUNISHED?

"THE Taming of the Dragon" is the suggestive title of an article in the November *Forum* by the Rev. L. J. Davies, whose residence of several years at the capital of Shantung Province enables him to speak with authority of present conditions in China.

After relating a number of historic incidents of China's duplicity and perfidy in her foreign relations, Mr. Davies sums up the whole matter in the following paragraphs :

"The case of the foreigner in China is not primarily against the people, but against the government. From the beginning the governing classes, the officials and *literati*, have fostered the anti-foreign prejudices of the people ; and at frequently recurring periods they have played upon the ignorance and superstition of the masses, instigating the riots in which so many foreigners have lost their lives and so much property has been destroyed. Dr. Martin, after fifty years' intercourse with the Chinese, asserts that if the people were unwilling to have missionaries live among them, we should have to count many more than twenty riots during this quarter of a century. That they are not incensed at the introduction of foreign goods is manifest from the vastly increased sale of foreign merchandise. The Chinese people are easily controlled by their officials when the latter act in good faith and in accordance with law and custom. Had the Chinese Government entered freely and heartily upon the obligations assumed when the treaties were signed, anti-foreign outrages would have been so few as to form a very unimportant element in diplomatic affairs.

"Primarily, the so-called 'missionary question' is occasioned neither by the rashness nor unreasonableness of the missionaries, nor by the unrestrained antipathy of the people, but by the insincerity and duplicity of the Chinese Government. Sporadic instances of rashness on the part of missionaries may, perhaps, occur, and some of the Chinese people are bitterly anti-foreign ; but if the imperial edicts regarding Christianity and foreigners had been 'the spontaneous expression of the imperial will,' the irreconcilables of both classes would have been in a hopeless minority. The Chinese Government has fostered and developed the anti-foreign feeling both by its manner of punishing offenses

against foreign citizens and by its method of intercourse with the representatives of sovereign sister states. It is the chief criminal, and the one upon whom punishment can and should be visited."

THE RATIONAL METHOD OF PUNISHMENT.

Admitting that the purpose of punishment should be to make it either morally or physically impossible for the criminal to continue his wrong course, this writer holds that vengeance, in the sense of retaliation, "is equally barbarous, whether sought by a Chinese mob or by the German Emperor"; that the Chinese are keenly alive to moral distinctions, and that any attempt to divide the country into small sections dominated by forces of foreign troops would in the end prove of advantage to neither Chinese nor foreigners.

"To punish the Chinese Government, to make it the administrator of its own punishment, and to render by moral means the repetition of outrages against foreigners increasingly impossible—this should be the policy of the powers in the settlement which must end the present disturbance. The mind of the Chinese nation will never be changed by physical force. William of Germany having planted his banner on the walls of Peking, may raze them and destroy the whole city, and, granting no quarter, may slay his tens of thousands. But in doing so he will but intensify the anti-foreign bitterness. In the elimination of this spirit lies the only hope for satisfactory intercourse. This hatred of foreigners in China, as in other lands, is chiefly due to ignorance. The government at Peking has fostered and perpetuated it by insincerity in its dealings with foreign nations. A settlement of the claims growing out of this war, ending with the payment of indemnities and the granting of additional commercial rights to foreigners, will leave the root of the difficulty untouched, and but comparatively short time will be required to produce a fresh crop of outrages. To the above must be added reforms in the government, besides privileges and opportunities granted not alone to foreigners but to the Chinese people as well."

REFORMS TO BE DEMANDED.

The United States, in the opinion of the writer, is in a position to make demands on the Chinese Government for specific reforms. We have seized no Chinese territory, and our reputation for good faith is high. Among the reforms most urgently needed the following are suggested :

(1) The abolition of the *k'otou*, which would lead to a freer intercourse between the Emperor

and his officials, and would result in placing the Emperor in position to judge and act independently; (2) the sifting from the mandarinate of vast numbers of supernumeraries, who exist only for the purpose of drawing their salaries and of acting as drags to retard progress; (3) the payment to all officials of salaries sufficient for the conduct of the affairs committed to them, thus removing the present virtual necessity of levying unjust and irregular taxes or 'squeezes'; (4) the reform of the internal revenue system, by the honest administration of which the government might greatly increase its income; (5) the extension of the postal system; (6) a free press; (7) the establishment of a modernized system of education, open to poor as well as to rich; (8) the opening of the country to freer trade with foreigners; (9) navigation by steam vessels of all suitable waters, etc.

"Before any such programme can be suggested to the Chinese two important steps must be taken by the powers. The first of these is to dispose permanently of the Empress Dowager and her anti-reform advisers. She is the arch-enemy of all foreigners as well as of progress and reform. If she is left in Peking, and if the men through whom she effected the *coup* of 1898 and instigated this present outrage are allowed their liberty and are retained in office, no hope of honest reform can be entertained. The second step is to reestablish Kuang Hsu, and to guarantee the integrity of his empire, and, moreover, the world-wide discussion of the partition of China must cease. If these things are done, there is every ground to expect a peaceful revolution in China, which will be of the greatest advantage to the whole world. Only as such internal changes are wrought will the anti-foreign spirit of the Chinese be dissipated and permanent peace be secured."

WHAT IS TO BE DONE IN CHINA?

CAPTAIN F. E. YOUNGHUSBAND contributes to the *National Review* for October an article entitled "A Plea for the Control of China." Captain Younghusband is convinced that some form of partition or control of China is inevitable, and he thinks that the proper policy of the powers is not, as they are doing at present, to accentuate the importance of the central government, but to deal separately with the local viceroys as far as possible:

"Those who have lived all their lives in European countries, and are accustomed to centralization of authority, hardly understand how loosely an empire like China is held together, and how lightly the provinces are bound to the

capital. And before committing ourselves to a policy of emphasizing the central authority we should be wise to mark how very little power that central authority has. We obtained, e.g., from the Peking Government the right to navigate the inland waters, but we cannot yet navigate them. We ought to be clear in our minds whether, in this and similar cases, our general trend of policy should be to enforce our rights through the central authority or through the viceroy of the particular province in which our rights have been infringed."

LOCAL CONTROL AND AN OPEN DOOR.

Each power should contribute to the control of the capital, and at the same time assume its special sphere of action. The open door should be preserved in each sphere.

"It is quite ridiculous to suppose that, when there are anti-foreign risings in Manchuria, all of us can go there to suppress them. That task would obviously be much more effectively carried out by Russia alone. Similarly, if the Yangtse region, where 64 per cent. of the foreign trade is in our hands, is rendered insecure, the task of settling it would be most easily carried out by us with our sea-power and our troops from India and Hongkong."

A BREAK-UP INEVITABLE.

To such a policy Captain Younghusband thinks there is no permanent alternative. Though no empire has ever held together so long as that of China, the indications are plain that it is now breaking up:

"The outlying dependencies have been falling away one by one. Annan, Tonquin, Siam, Burma, Sikkim, Hunza, the Pamirs, the Amur region, Formosa, Hongkong, all have been broken away, and pieces even of China itself—Port Arthur, Wei-hai-Wei, Kiao-chau Bay, Kowloon—have passed into the hands of others. And many other instances besides those I have already given could be quoted to show how loosely what remains is held together. While the Emperor has little authority over the viceroys, the viceroys on their part, as they freely acknowledge, have but slight control over the people. Patriotism is practically unknown. Mid-China and South China were perfectly callous as to what the Japanese did in North China."

CHINESE AND EUROPEANS.

Captain Younghusband thinks that the antipathy of the Chinese to foreigners is a radical trait of their character. European antipathy to the Chinese is no less natural:

"In traveling through a strange country for

one's own pleasure, one naturally tries to think the best of the people ; and most of the people (except the Mashonas and Matabele) among whom I have traveled I have formed some attachment to. But between me and the Chinamen there always seemed a great gulf fixed, which could never be overcome. The Chinese gentlemen I met during my three months' stay in the Peking Legation and the year I spent in Chinese Turkestan were always very polite, and often cheery and genial ; but even then I could always detect a vein of condescension and superciliousness. They were polite because they are bred to rigid politeness ; but I never felt drawn towards a Chinese gentleman as any one would be towards a Rajput, a Sikh, or an Afghan gentleman."

Russia's Attitude.

The *Fortnightly Review* contains three articles on "The Far Eastern Crisis." The first of these, which is anonymous, is entitled "Why Not a Treaty with Russia ?" Briefly, the writer's points are, first, that Russia does not want China, which she could not assimilate ; secondly, that Russian policy is against the acquisition of unassimilable populations ; and, thirdly, that so far from Russia's advance in Asia being directed against British India, four-fifths of Russia's territory in Asia was acquired before Great Britain's Indian empire was even in its birth.

BRITISH POLICY.

As to British policy, the writer says :

" We proclaim the integrity of China without any intelligent or merely obstinate effort to reassert the primacy of our diplomacy at Peking or even to maintain its parity with that of Russia. We consecrate the Middle Kingdom to an integrity of putrescence without any more lucid conception than in the case of Turkey, that the propping up of a decaying despotism necessitates a liberal indulgence of its crimes. On the other hand, with inexplicable complacency, we reserve our right in the last resort to an almost impossible share of China, without taking the least steps towards the preparation of the masterly plans and the enormous forces which would be required to vindicate that claim."

RUSSIA'S EXPANSION.

England's pretensions to the hegemony of the Yangtse Valley have been already destroyed by the action of the other powers in landing troops ; while, as to Northern China, no sane politician could have hoped to prevent the last stage of the Siberian railway from becoming Russian.

" It is excessively rare to find, even among educated Englishmen, a perception of the simple

fact that the landward expansion of Russia has been as natural, gradual, and legitimate as the spread of British sea-power, and that the former process has been infinitely the less aggressive and violent of the two. Russophobia in this country rests upon the assumption that the devouring advance of the Muscovite has been exclusively dictated by a melodramatic and iniquitous design upon our dominion in India. There never was a stranger fallacy of jealous hallucinations. If our Indian empire had never existed ; if the continent-peninsula had disappeared at a remote geological epoch beneath the waves, and if the Indian Ocean had washed the base of the Himalayas for ages, Russian expansion would still have followed precisely the same course it has taken at exactly the same rate."

The trail of the frontal attack, says the writer, has been all over British diplomacy, and unless some prolonged equilibrium between England and Russia can be established there will be small hope for British interests in China.

" Is Russia to preponderate in China ?" asks Mr. Demetrius Boulger, who bases his article on the proposition that any suggestion "emanating from Russia would arouse suspicion," and that "Russia will never be pulled up in the far East except by the absolute opposition of this empire." Mr. Boulger is an extremist ; and though he does not repeat his proposition of a few months back, that England should land 200,000 men at St. Petersburg and capture the city, he goes pretty far in that direction by pleading that England should oppose Russia merely for the sake of opposition. England must not negotiate with Li Hung Chang, because he is the friend of Russia ; and she cannot negotiate with any one else, because there is no government in China. Instead, she is to "define and assert our claim to the Yangtse Valley, and at the same time support it by sending 29,000 British troops to Chusan. At the same moment we should notify Japan, Germany, America, and France that we will respect and support similar claims to 'a material guarantee' on their part in Korea, Shantung, Chekiang, and Kwangsi, respectively. It would be necessary also to take the precaution of mobilizing the fleet. If these steps were taken promptly, quietly, and firmly, there would be no war, the prestige of England would be raised to a higher point than ever ; and the powers, agreed on their own position and relative claims, could attack the Chinese problem with the genuine intention of solving it. There will, indeed, be no place in such an arrangement for Li Hung Chang ; and we might even entertain the hope that the Dowager Empress and her satellites would before long receive their deserts. It

would be a partition of responsibility; whether it extended over much territory, would rest with the Chinese."

"Diplomaticus" contributes the third Chinese article to the *Fortnightly*. His article is entitled "Count Lamsdorff's First Failure," and was written with the object of proving that Russian diplomacy is not so infallible as the ordinary Russophobe believes. According to "Diplomaticus," Count Lamsdorff's proposal was a perfectly comprehensible one from the Russian point of view—the "failure" being that it was too absurd for acceptance.

Keep an Eye on Germany.

"In China the work of superseding the British empire shall begin." This is the startling proposition of an anonymous writer in the *National Review* for October. The writer, who signs himself "X," gives a very long and careful account of Germany's movements in the international sphere for the last few years, and concludes that Germany is England's real rival all over the world, and that it is against England, and not Russia, that Germany is now preparing.

GERMANY AGAINST ENGLAND.

It is in China that British interests are to be first attacked. Germany has convinced herself that the partition of China cannot now be permanently avoided. Her first conception was that, as a result of the Japanese War, there would be a regeneration of the Middle Kingdom under German auspices; and it was only after waiting in vain, for several years, that she came to the conclusion that disintegration was inevitable. Her avowed purpose in taking possession of Kiaochau was to be ready for either alternative:

"The landing of German troops at Shanghai, and the dispatch of German gunboats up the Yangtse, are explained away by the *Kölnische Zeitung* in the venerable manner. Germany, we are told, has no aggressive designs in that region, and agrees with England that it is a sphere in which the open door must be maintained. Exactly. It is not recognized as our sphere. It is to be the cosmopolitan sphere. Germany is to entrench herself in her monopoly in Shantung, and to share the advantages of the open door with us upon the Yangtse. This is a characteristic Anglo-German bargain. It is with a particular view to our position in the event of a break-up of China that we seek German support. It is in that event we shall most surely lose it. The Chinese pledge was simply that the Yangtse region would not be alienated to 'any power'—ourselves included. Other nations hold us to our bond, which, of course, would become waste

paper if the Chinese Government by any mishap should cease to exist. No nation recognizes on our part a territorial claim to the Yangtse. It is certain that, in the case of the disruption of China, Germany would claim the whole region from the Yellow River up to the north bank of the Yangtse. Much the most probable of all eventual results of the Kiaochau episode is that we shall lose at least the northern, and incomparably the better, half of the great middle region.

A RENEWED TRIPLE ALLIANCE.

"X" declares that when the partition of China begins the real antagonism between England's interests and those of Germany will come to light, and Germany will at once take steps to reconstitute the Triple Alliance with Russia and France for the purpose of preventing the realization of British claims to the Yangtse Valley.

GERMAN AIMS ON THE YANGTSE.

So long as China remains undivided, Germany's advantage in guarding the open door is second only to England's:

"It may even be conceded, since it is beyond the requirements of the argument to discuss the point, that the stability of the Middle Kingdom is desired in Berlin as sincerely as in London or Washington. But what if, as will be admitted to be possible, it should prove beyond human power to preserve the integrity of China or to prevent the break-up—what then? There is a vague idea abroad in this country that, in the last resort, Germany would content herself with her present sphere in the province of Shantung, with some indefinite and unalarming additions of hinterland, and that her friendly support would enable us to enter into peaceful possession of the Yangtse Valley and the enjoyment of the lion's share in the partition of China. We imagine, so far as we examine the matter at all, that the Kaiser and his subjects, if discontented with their modest slice in their present admitted sphere, would turn to the north and effect a vigorous aggrandizement at the expense of Russia. For such theories as these there is not a vestige or a shadow of evidence or reason. The interests of Germany, who already resents the inordinate extension of our dominion, and attributes the extension of the British empire to an irritating chronological accident, do not lie in conniving at the aggrandizement of a power in her view so exorbitantly overgrown, and if her interests do not lie in that direction her policy will not. The transfer of the whole Yangtse Valley to us would bring under the British flag half the inhabitants of the earth. Of all states in the world,

Germany has the deepest interest in preventing such a consummation, and the most fixed determination to do it."

Why Not a Japanned China?

The editor of the new *Monthly Review* discusses the situation "After Peking," and concludes as follows :

"The great necessity for British interests in China is a settled government. Far better that even Russia should annex the country than that chaos should continue. But the commercial policy of Russia is worse for us than that of any other nation, and it would be better that Japan or even Germany should be encouraged to take over the government of the southern and central part of the empire. In the meantime an attitude of expectancy is all that the government of this country can at present take up. It may well be that eventually a more active part may be open to it, in the direction of keeping order in the sea-coast towns and waterways of an imperfectly pacified Japanese empire."

Restore the Emperor.

Dr. John Ross is a welcome addition to the number of writers who recognize that China has rights as against Europe as well as Europe against China. In the *Contemporary Review* for October he publishes an excellent article on "Our Future Policy in China," in which he says plainly that the only policy to be observed towards the Chinese in future is to treat them with justice and as equals, for no other policy will ever pay. Dr. Ross has a high opinion of the morals and intellectual capacity of the Chinese. In the first place, they are not cowards; and their detestation of war is based upon a philosophy which Europeans might envy.

CHINESE NOT COWARDS.

But the Chinese, when oppressed and bullied in the past, have not shown themselves incapable soldiers when dealing with enemies of equal armament; and they only want arms and a leader to enable them to repel European aggression with equal success.

"In their past normal life they had no warrior leaders. Insult and wrong produced national wrath, and the warrior leaders appeared. Similar causes will again produce the same effects. The men are now more numerous, their resources more extensive. The raw materials for an army, formidable no less by prowess than by numbers, are lying all over China. The man has yet to appear who will pick them up and utilize them. The Chinese lack military leaders, but leaders will come."

THEIR LOVE FOR JUSTICE—

One of the most prominent characteristics of the Chinese, says Dr. Ross, is their admiration of, and love for, justice :

"A sense of injustice arouses them to wrath as nothing else can. The most serious losses in the way of business, or from the action of natural forces, they endure with patient equanimity. A small loss—even an insignificant one—by what they consider to be injustice rouses them to indignant protest and to serious resistance. If that sense of injustice is sufficiently acute, there are no bounds to their wrath, and to obtain redress they take the strongest measures, without counting the cost."

—AND REASON.

No people revere reason more than the Chinese :

"Their instruction from childhood teaches them to trust to reason, and not to force, for the statement and the acquisition of their rights. Years ago they appealed in this way to Western nations, by whom their appeal was spurned with contempt; hence the present horrors in China. Their etiquette, again, which is strictly observed by all classes, makes a police force unnecessary. Their deference to seniors, their politeness to strangers, all combine to form a powerful restraint on the coarser feelings, and on that resort to physical force not uncommon among many Western nations."

PARTITION IMPOSSIBLE.

Dr. Ross does not believe that China can be parcelled out among the powers; nor does he think that Captain Younghusband's policy of treating separately with the Chinese viceroys is a good plan. The unity of the country is essential, and the Emperor is the best instrument for preserving it :

"Incomparably the best policy for China and for Europe, in order to secure peace now and security for the indefinite future, is that the Western powers should unite harmoniously to the end in resisting any temptation to personal aggrandizement in the way of annexing Chinese territory; and throughout China should declare by public proclamation that their one aim is the restoration of order under the Emperor, through wise officials of his choosing, who will work toward the improvement of the country. This policy will render the restoration of peace now a comparatively easy task, and will secure the hearty good wishes and the permanent gratitude of all the better classes throughout China, with whom lie the government and the influence of

the country when the restoration of peace brings back the rule of reason."

Gordon's Campaign In China.

The *Fortnightly* for October publishes the second part of Gordon's account of the operations which resulted in the capture of Soochow, Yelsing, and Liyang from the Taipings—operations which had the effect of cutting the rebellion in two halves mutually isolated. Gordon's final recommendation was as follows :

"Should any future war with China arise, too much attention cannot be paid to the close reconnoitering of the enemy's positions, in which there are always some weak points ; and it is to be hoped that our leaders may incline to a more scientific mode of attack than has hitherto been in vogue. The hasty attacks generally made on Asiatic positions cost valuable lives, invite failure, and prevent the science of war, theoretically acquired at considerable cost, being tested in the best school—namely, that of actual practice."

CHINA AND RUSSIA.

IN the *North American Review* for October, the Hon. Josiah Quincy, who, it will be remembered, served as assistant secretary of state in the last Cleveland administration, before his election to the Boston mayorship, gives several reasons for his belief, elsewhere expressed, that the United States should frankly recognize Russia as the dominant factor in the settlement of the Chinese question. The crux of the situation, as viewed by Mr. Quincy, lies in these facts—"that the interests of Russia in China and her relations to the Celestial empire are entirely different from those of any other power ; that her position is already stronger than that of any of her rivals in the far East, and may soon become impregnable, and that if she can avoid war she may be almost be said to hold the future of China in the hollow of her hand—though the process of asserting her full control is likely to be a long and gradual one. In short, Russia holds the winning cards in her hand, and knows how to play them."

SECURITY OF THE RUSSIAN FRONTIER.

Mr. Quincy shows that Russia's exposed frontier of 4,000 miles requires on her part a distinct policy toward China. This is a land frontier, and it must be made secure.

"China cannot strike other nations except through their interests on her coasts, or within her borders ; she can strike Russia within the empire of the Czar, and it is at least conceivable and possible, even if quite unlikely, that she

might some day organize out of her teeming population armies which would repeat the Tartar invasion. Russia has not yet forgotten that these fierce Asiatics ruled her people for over two centuries, and the overthrow of their domination is of as recent date as the discovery of America."

This fear goes far to explain the Russian attitude toward Japan :

"Russians believe that, if Japan were once allowed to organize and arm the Chinese, their own great Asiatic empire would be in imminent peril, if not their European territory as well ; and it must be admitted that their fears seem to be well founded. A cardinal point in Russian policy is, therefore, to keep Japan out of China at all hazards, and out of Korea, if possible ; hence her alarm at the cession of the Liaotung Peninsula to Japan after the war, and her coercion of that power, in combination with France and Germany, to give up this important part of the fruits of her victory.

"Russia is forced by her situation to consider more seriously than any other power the immense possibilities of danger involved in crowding too hard a nation of some 400,000,000 of people, constituting the most ancient empire in existence, and united by a spirit of opposition to foreigners. No other great nation would have submitted for a moment to the indignities which have been heaped on China by other powers, or to exactions which they have enforced, and she has only submitted because she was helpless to resist. Russia, at least, if not the other powers, must take into account the possibility that China may cease to be powerless ; that she may learn the art of military organization which some have been so anxious to teach her, and that she may develop resources of offense as well as for defense."

A RUSSIAN MONROE DOCTRINE FOR CHINA.

In Mr. Quincy's opinion there is as good ground for a Russian Monroe doctrine to protect the integrity of China as there is for an American Monroe doctrine to protect the integrity of the South American republics.

"The above considerations have a vital relation to the question of withdrawal from Peking. The presence of foreign troops on Chinese soil is objectionable from the Russian standpoint above indicated, though she fully recognized its necessity while the legations were in peril. Anything which tends toward a removal of the capital from Peking is also strongly opposed to her interests ; and the continuance of its occupation by foreign troops would certainly have such a tendency, in view of the unwillingness of the imperial government to return there while such occupation lasts. Peking is the most favorable

possible residence for the Chinese court, with a view to the predominance of Russian influence ; and it is not to be wondered at that she proposes to give the Empress every facility to return there. Russia will doubtless be able to prevent the removal of the capital, if central government is to continue in China, to any point more convenient to the interests of her rivals and less advantageous to herself. Tientsin, the port of Peking, is right across the gulf from Russia's great naval stronghold and base at Port Arthur ; and the capital itself is connected by railroads already built with Mukden in Manchuria, whence railroad construction before the present outbreak was being rapidly pushed northward to join with the trans-Siberian line. Within a comparatively short time there will be all-rail connection between St. Petersburg and Peking. A part of this line, to be sure, is at present more or less under British control ; but this difficulty will be obviated in some way, and Russia had already applied for an independent concession. Indeed, one of her plans, by no means unlikely to be carried out later, is a direct line from Irkutsk to Peking, reducing by almost one-half the distance by the route through Manchuria.

" It must be remembered, too, that, so far as spheres of influence have been defined, the Russian sphere is better situated for the domination of Pekin than any other. Great Britain has formally recognized that the whole of Mongolia and Manchuria come within the sphere of Russia so far as the building of railroads is concerned, and no other power is likely to dispute her ear-marking of that territory. When Russia has completed her railroads and can land a large body of troops in the Chinese capital at short notice, China is not likely to be in much doubt as to which power can best play the rôle of protector of her government, alike against domestic trouble and foreign pressure."

RUSSIA'S ADVANTAGES.

Among the preëminent advantages enjoyed by Russia in connection with the Chinese situation, Mr. Quincy mentions—(1) her alliance with France ; (2) the fact that Russia has no missionaries in China ; and (3) a clear understanding of Chinese methods of government and habits of thought, resulting from the fact that Russia is herself semi-Asiatic in origin and has had centuries of contact with Orientals.

It is believed that the Chinese may give no small weight to the missionary question, when considering on which power they had best lean, while Russian methods of government may be as well adapted as any to the stage of political development thus far attained in China, arbitrary

and autocratic as they seem to a democratic people.

Mr. Quincy says, in conclusion :

" The natural and legitimate character of the expansion of Russia to the Pacific, the fact that she has a real civilizing mission in Asia, however her own civilization may fall below the European standard in some respects ; the service which she is rendering to the future commerce of the world by the great continental railroad which she is building at such an enormous cost ; the pacific character of her policy,—these are points which cannot be treated within the limits of this article. The maintenance of friendly relations with Russia should be as cardinal a point in our diplomatic policy as the cultivation of similar relations with us is in her own programme. Each nation has expanded across a continent, from one ocean to another ; we meet as friends upon the shores of the Pacific—the great arena in which, perhaps, is to be fought out, in war or in peace, the struggle for political or commercial supremacy."

THE RUSSIANS IN MANCHURIA.

UNDER the title "The War in Manchuria," *Nuova Antologia* (Rome, September 1) prints an article of uncommon interest by Gen. Luchino dal Verme, of the Italian Army. The articles on the war in South Africa, by General dal Verme, are known to many of our readers. (The first of the series was reviewed in our March number.) General dal Verme's qualifications for writing on the Manchurian War are exceptional. Besides his military training and experience, he has a personal knowledge of the field of military operations gained by travels in the country, especially on the Amur. Moreover, General dal Verme's style is clear, always attractive, and often picturesque.

PELT HUNTING.

A little more than 250 years ago, a band of Cossack pelt-seekers discovered the region that is now the bone of contention between Russia and China. In 1643, Poyarkof, at the head of 112 Cossacks, set out from the Siberian town Jakutsk, on the Lena, to find strange adventures and pelts. In the two Americas, most of the explorations were actuated by the lust of gold and by the missionary desire of saving souls. It was a lust of pelts, without any missionary coöperation, that opened to Europeans the vast regions of northern Asia. Poyarkof and his followers were seeking a "happy hunting-ground" where game had never been frightened by firearms. These Cossacks were not horsemen, as

we always figure Cossacks, but boatmen. They were not unique in character or employment. Similar parties of Cossack boatmen, before Poyarkof's expedition, had engaged in such enterprises, and explored vast reaches of unknown territory. Poyarkof and his companions went up the rivers pushing or dragging their small boats; where a river became no farther practicable, they carried their boats overland to some other stream. So they went up and down the rivers getting costly furs and fighting the natives when they found any. In that way they reached with severe toil the Zeya, a tributary of the Amur. But the voyage down the Amur was pleasant. At last, near the end of autumn, they got to the sea-coast. There they wintered. In the following summer the voyagers set out by sea in their frail little boats to find the Lena and Jakutsk, where they arrived in July, 1646, after an absence of more than three years. Only 40 of the original 113 had survived the hardships encountered. But they brought home 480 precious pelts.

ATTEMPTED CONQUESTS.

Three years after the return of Poyarkof, a very notable Cossack, Khabarov, reached the Amur with 70 men. Khabarov had projects of conquest, and, thinking that 70 men were not enough, got the number enlarged to 170. At the junction of the Ussuri and the Amur stands to-day the little city of Khabarovsk, a monument to this Cossack's perseverance and audacity. His most celebrated exploit was a victory gained with 156 men over 2,000 Manchurians (the victor's estimate), equipped with cannon and firearms. Six hundred of the Manchurians, it is said, were left dead on the battlefield. It was the first pitched battle (1652) between Manchurians and Russians, and even now the victory is a theme for Cossack war-songs. For nearly forty years afterwards hostilities went on between Russia and China for the possession of the Amur.

RUSSIAN FAILURE.

In 1689, however, the two empires made a treaty in which Russia renounced all pretensions on the Amur. The treaty was signed on August 27, at Nercinsk, on the River Scilka. It was a triumph for China. Russia could not bring her resources into effective use at such a distance against a people so numerous as the Manchurians, and supplied with firearms. So "these Cossacks," says General dal Verme, "whom no privation, no rigor of climate, no hostility of the aborigines, had stopped through all the unmeasured distance of desolate lands from the Ural

Mountains to Kamchatka,—100° of longitude,—had to fall back before the Manchurian legions there in the valley of the Amur, which offered a delightful way of communication, where the climate was mild, and where it was possible to enjoy life."

More than 150 years passed before Russia reached out again for the Amur. The peculiar value of the Amur is that it is the only important river of northern Asia that empties into the Pacific Ocean. Peter the Great is said to have meditated the reconquest of that region; but, if he had the purpose, he made no motion towards carrying it into effect. No attempt was made until the accession of Nicholas I.

MURAVIOF.

In 1848, General Muraviof, a young man, assumed the duties of governor of Eastern Siberia, with full jurisdiction from the River Jenissei to Bering Straits, and from the Arctic Ocean to China. Soon after taking his office, a naval captain, Nevelskoy, under his command, discovered that the supposed peninsula Sakhalin was an island. The discovery added much to the importance of the Amur, because it showed that the mouth of the river could be approached at sea from both the north and south. By the command of the new governor, and without authorization from St. Petersburg, Captain Nevelskoy sailed up the Amur and established, about sixteen miles up the river, a station, which he named after his master, the Czar, Nikolajevsk. "To the Chinese governor he was commanded to say that a Russo-American company had established a station at the mouths of the Amur, and that a war vessel had been stationed there for policing the sea 'in the reciprocal interest of Russia and China.'" The ruse that a trading company was operating along the Amur was kept up by the Russian governor for years, and the Chinese Government found it convenient to be satisfied with this explanation.

"But to conquer indeed the great valley," says General dal Verme, "land forces were needed, and not a few, as always in vain the Cossack Khabarov had written in his reports. When Muraviof went into Siberia, he was astonished at finding there only four battalions and no artillery." He proposed the creation of native regiments, and authority for raising them was granted by an imperial ukase in 1851.

THE CRIMEAN WAR AS A STALKING-HORSE.

When the Crimean War broke out, Muraviof took advantage of it to turn the peaceful process of Russian expansion into military occupation. There was no need now of talking about the

Russo-American company. The sea-coast and its rivers must be defended against the French and English. So Muraviof established military communication along the Amur, and in force occupied important points both on the river and elsewhere. To the Emperor of China he wrote that these precautions were taken in the interest of both Russia and China. But Chinese envoys were sent to Muraviof to negotiate a definite treaty. Muraviof made long delays in the negotiations, but on May 16, 1858, a treaty was signed, in which the boundary between China and Russia was declared to be the Amur and the Ussuri. A subsequent treaty, made in 1860, defined the boundary more exactly, and extended the Russian possessions. That part of Manchuria which lay north of the Amur, and all that part which lay east of the Ussuri, became Russian territory, and Russia acquired the natural port of Vladivostok and access to the sea of Japan.

TRANS-SIBERIAN RAILROAD.

As far back as 1858, a railroad for facilitating passage to the ports of Tartary was urged by General Muraviof, but it was not till March 17, 1891, that an imperial rescript for the construction of the trans-Siberian railroad was issued. On the 12th of May following, the first stone was laid at the eastern terminus, Vladivostok. The estimated length of the line was 7,292 kilometers from Celiabinsk on the Asiatic slope of the Ural Mountains to Vladivostok. But the war between China and Japan, with its disasters to China, was fruitful in advantages to Russia. The intervention of Russia in the peace negotiations shut out Japan from the continent, and procured from China large concessions—among them Port Arthur and the right to build a railroad through Manchuria. The new line passes, in a pretty direct course, through Manchuria from Onon on the Scilka to Nikolskoe on the completed road along the Ussuri. A branch road is to go to Port Arthur. This concession shortens the main line of the trans-Siberian railroad by nearly 700 kilometers. To Russia was conceded the right of guarding and defending, with her own soldiers, the railroad and those engaged in its construction.

Although General dal Verme's paper is entitled "The War in Manchuria," the larger part of it is taken up with unfolding the events that brought the Russians into the present situation in that region, and this preliminary recital is, no doubt, the most valuable part of the article. The reports from the field of military operations have been so loose and inconsistent that an account of the war in detail must be, at present, largely conjectural.

A FRENCH RUSSOPHOBIST.

THE French magazine, *L'Humanité Nouvelle*, is a champion of the oppressed everywhere; it exults always in the defeat or check of oppressors. Writing in the September number on the theme "China and European Diplomacy," Élisée Réclus rejoices at the setback of Russia in Manchuria.

FUTILITY OF THE EUROPEAN ALLIANCE.

"Nothing good will come of the forced alliance of the European powers against China. They are jealous and suspicious of each other. Union will not come from these hateful sentiments. Forced to ally themselves temporarily, they will certainly attain their military objective, which is to occupy Peking, as they have occupied Tientsin. . . . But after the peace of Peking, . . . when it will be necessary to take firm resolutions as to the future, the powers will certainly be controlled by a preoccupation of the first importance—that of mutually preventing each other from gaining too much advantage from their common intervention, and all will contrive shrewd combinations with the enemy against the friend. So there will be arranged a way of depriving England of the commercial monopoly she has practically enjoyed till our day; likewise care will be taken to relieve France of the religious protectorate which she has arrogated to herself over the Catholic missions; and an attempt will be made to circumvent impetuous Germany, so that she will accomplish little else than noise. As for the two principal rivals, Japan and Russia, it will be necessary to leave them a free field, both having a force of expansion too great for compression by diplomacy."

RUSSIA'S HUMILIATION.

"Whatever happens, it is a fact most fortunate for humanity that Russia comes out of this adventure deeply humiliated. For some years her conduct has shown an arrogance unparalleled. Her seizure of Manchuria was almost without example as an act of hypocritical rapacity. If such perfidy were not punished in one way or another, new infamies of the same kind would become too easy; all the world would become too easily accustomed to prostrating themselves before the Czar and saluting him in advance as the future master of the human race. This redoubtable Muscovite power has already so many material advantages in its vital rivalry for domination! The approaches of the steppes and of the interior plateaux belong to it in advance. All the routes of Central Asia through Mongolia, through Dzoungarie, by the passes of Thianchan and the Pamiers, commence on its

territory and assure to it in advance the trans-continent traffic. The people that submit themselves — Turcomans, Kirgis, Mongols — would, as soldiers, supply to him incomparable ‘human material.’ Everything seemed ready for the universal servitude; and, even in Europe, a republic whose citizens pretend to march at the head of civilization, and which in fact possesses among its people some of the noblest and best men, debased itself by its flatteries and prostrations.

THE THREATENED RUSSIANIZING OF CHINA.

“The ‘yellow peril’ was not at all where so many historians have sought it. Surely, we have not to fear that the Chinese will overflow the earth in a torrent of conquest, like the Huns and Mongols. Moreover, we can dismiss as partly illusory the idea that the Orientals of Asia will despoil Europe of its industry by debasing wages. But it was certainly to be feared that Russia would recruit dozens and hundreds of millions of new subjects among the gentle and pacific races that people remote Asia. What a dreadful shock for the world, if the empire of the Czars had succeeded in the work of slow annexation that it gloomily sought to realize, while hypnotizing Europe by words of peace. This very government that perjures itself with such effrontery towards the Finns, and which debarasses itself so effectively of the troublesome Armenians in causing their extermination by the ‘Red Sultan,’ certainly would not have scruples at the thought of using some day against Europe all this world of Mongols, Manchurians, and Chinese. What fine diplomats; what devoted functionaries; what admirable soldiers; what docile workmen,—would it not have found in this immense factory of men!

IS RUSSIA ON THE DEFENSIVE?

“But all these beautiful combinations have momentarily failed; or, at least, their accomplishment has been delayed for years. The prestige is broken. Even the Chinese have had the unexpected audacity to cannonade Blagovestchensk on the Amur, and irreverently to cut communications, to burn bridges, to tear up and twist rails. Despite their boasting, the Russian generals have been reduced to the defensive. . . . The Russians, while saying they were ready, were not at all ready, and in their operations against Tientsin and Pekin they have been obliged to take second place, after their detested ‘friends,’ the Japanese. It is an indisputable check; and we believe that, in the interest of humanity, it is right to rejoice over it.”

TOLSTOI AND NIETZSCHE.

A THOUGHTFUL paper on “The Ethics of Tolstoi and Nietzsche” is contributed to the *International Journal of Ethics* for October by Maurice Adams. In concluding his estimate of these two contemporary philosophers, this writer remarks:

“There is much in Nietzsche’s writing which is of great value and worthy of careful study and prolonged thought. His demand for health and strength as a condition of all worthy life is surely sound. His protest against the existence of the weaklings who are so numerous in modern society, and who ought never to have been born and are unfit both in body and mind to face the du-



THE LATE FRIEDRICH W. NIETZSCHE.

ties and pains of existence, is sorely needed. His contempt for the sickly and sentimental sympathy which loves to dwell on disease and suffering rather than strenuously strive to remove their causes—which admires itself for its tenderness of heart, but is quite incapable of a manly conflict with evil—is most timely. But his defense of a proud and egotistic aristocracy, of unfeeling and even brutal egotism, even of downright cruelty; his scornful repudiation of love and sympathy and of the feeling of human fellowship which is man’s greatest joy, is harmful, false, and evil, and tends only to the disruption of society and the loss of the hard-won gains of evolutionary progress.

POINTS OF DIFFERENCE.

" Tolstoi and Nietzsche are the very antithesis of each other. Tolstoi's asceticism is the reaction of a sympathetic and deeply religious nature against the parasitic and voluptuous life of his youth. Nietzsche's worship of strength, health, beauty, and vigorous will is the revolt of a proud and sensitive soul against the limitations, the feebleness, and the misery caused by a diseased and suffering organism. Tolstoi preaches the suppression of all instincts, the rejection of all the demands of the animal in man; for Nietzsche 'everything good is instinct,' while 'to have to contend with instincts' is for him the sign of *décadence*. Tolstoi finds the only way of happiness in the Christian life, and sums up the conclusions of his life experience in the 'Christian Teaching.' The last book which Nietzsche wrote is entitled the 'Antichrist,' and in it he characterizes Christianity as 'the most subterranean conspiracy that has ever existed—against healthiness, beauty, well-constitutedness, courage, intellect, *benevolence* of soul, *against life itself*.'

POINTS OF AGREEMENT.

" Yet they have much in common. Both deny, either formally or by implication, the presence of a rational order in the world; are therefore pessimistic, and deny any objective truth or principle of conduct common to all. Tolstoi, it is true, speaks of the 'reasonable consciousness' which awakens in man, and of the 'Will of God' as determining the conditions of life; but the first merely serves to reveal to us our inner chaos and to show us the contradictions of our being, without giving us any guidance for solving them, and the second appears as an altogether inscrutable fate. Nietzsche repudiates, in the strongest terms, the presence of reason in the world or any kind of cosmic harmony. 'The character total of the world is to all eternity chaos,' he cries, 'not in the sense of a missing necessity, but of missing order, articulation, form, beauty, wisdom.' So, recognizing no appeal to reason, both are dominated by feeling: Tolstoi by the feeling of love and sympathy, Nietzsche by pride and contempt. The ethics of the former are the ethics of self-negation; of the latter of unconditional self-assertion. Neither recognizes the truth that a truly human life is not the uncontrolled indulgence of feeling, but an 'activity according to reason.'

In their conceptions of the functions of the state, the two men differed widely. Tolstoi is a pure anarchist; Nietzsche's position was not always plain, but at times he seemed to favor aristocratic government.

THE LESSONS OF GALVESTON.

IN the *National Geographic Magazine*, Mr. W. J. McGee, formerly the geologist in charge of the coastal plain division of the United States Geological Survey, writes on certain physical aspects of the Galveston calamity.

The first lesson that Mr. McGee deduces from the experience of the flood-swept Texan city is that of the Scriptural parable warning against the building of a house on the sand:

" Galveston was founded on a sand-bank—a mere wave-built cay, or key—made by the waves of average storms during a few centuries. Up to its highest point (less than a dozen feet above low tide), the earth of the island comprised absolutely nothing but wave-cast sand and silt, and to a depth of at least half a mile in vertical measure there is no solid rock; the strata are loose sands and silts and mud-beds, nowhere firm enough to afford a sure foundation. Geologically, the deposits are those of the Pleistocene Columbia formation to a depth of several hundred feet, and these are underlaid by lithologically similar deposits of several tertiary formations. The successive formations from the Columbia downward are mechanical deposits; they are not cemented with calcareous or silicious substances, like some of the formations of the eastern Gulf coast, nor are they bound together by coralline masses like some of the West-India littorals; they include little material save water-logged muds and silts, semi-solidified by pressure at depths, but nowhere lithified into firm ledges. And what is true of Galveston is measurably true of the entire western Gulf coast from Vera Cruz to the Mississippi passes; no worse coast-stretch for foundations exists in the world, and none other so bad is of anything like equal extent.

A CITY WITHIN REACH OF THE WAVES.

" The second lesson is but the first raised from the plane of experience alone to that of recognition of natural agencies. The sand-bank on which Galveston was built is something more than a simple heap of silicious grains and dust; it is a record of past wave-work which might well have deterred the founders of the city. The most conspicuous work of waves and wind-driven sea-currents is the building of bars of sand or gravel gathered from neighboring shore-stretches or washed up from shallow bottoms; only less conspicuous is the work of these agents in carving sea-cliffs. Both modes of work are preëminently characteristic; there is not a mile of our eastern and southern coasts, from St. Croix River bounding Maine to the Rio Grande beyond Texas, without one or the other of these products of sea-work. On some coast-stretches, like that of

southern New Jersey, the bars and sea-cliffs alternate, the one stretching across the mouths of valleys embouching toward the sea, the other truncating the divides between the valleys; along higher and rockier shores, like those of New England, the sea-cliffs predominate; but along the flatter coasts, like most of those along the Gulf, the bars—the 'keys' of the vernacular—predominate, and are commonly separated from the mainland by sounds;—so that everywhere the character of the shore is determined primarily by its height above tide; secondarily, by the work of waves and sea-currents in building bars and carving cliffs. Now the important point in connection with the bar or key is the fact that it is built by waves aided by the currents, so that its height and breadth afford a fair measure of local wave-work—not of the idle ripples of the calms, not even of the breakers of lesser storms, nor yet of the great hurricanes happening by at intervals of centuries, but of the greater storms of current decades. So the crest of the key marks the reach of the great but not phenomenal tempest, and its seaward slope gives some indication of the frequency of such storms, the steeper slope attesting a more frequent wave-work; while the effect of the century-rare typhoon is rather to destroy than to build symmetric keys, such as those skirting our Gulf coast and some stretches of the Atlantic shore thence northward. Other factors, including customary tides and prevailing winds, affect this sea-work; but they are subordinate. Thus, the elongated key on which the city of Galveston stood was but a natural storm-record; and it was merely by chance of weather history that she so long survived.

"It is the business of the engineer and architect to look to foundations, and to avoid the traditional house on the sand; but it is the duty of the nature student to interpret natural records and guard against the building of houses within reach of storm-waves—still more against building on the storm-records themselves."

A SINKING COAST.

"There is a third lesson, less simple than the first and second, but far too important to be neglected: it is the lesson of coast subsidence, already learned by Holland and Helgoland, and now forcing itself on Louisiana and Texas, as well as New Jersey. The student who scans the shores of Atlantic and Gulf, either on the ground or on the admirable maps of the Coast and Geodetic Survey and the hydrographic office of our navy, soon perceives that the relations between wave-built bars and wave-cut sea-cliffs vary from coast-stretch to coast-stretch. On the New Jersey

coast the bars are beaten well back to or beyond the line of the sea-cliffs, so that the ponds or sounds behind the bars are relatively short and discontinuous; along the Florida coasts the keys stand farther out to sea, and are separated from the mainland by great elongated sounds often affording navigable waterways; while about the northern shores of the Gulf the relations of the keys to sounds are more variable. Closer study serves to interpret these variable relations: from Florida westward to Mobile Bay the keys are nearly continuous and the sounds long and narrow; thence westward to Lake Borgne the typical keys are lost, though their lines continue in a series of islands—Ship Island, Horn Island, Cat Island, etc.—separated from the mainland by the broad Mississippi Sound; still farther westward a new series of keys, erratic in form and trend, appears in the Chandeleur Islands, and beyond the delta there is a corresponding (and correspondingly erratic) series of low keys stretching westward nearly or quite to Atchafalaya Bay. Now, the mainland shore of Mississippi Sound is marked by a series of small and narrow keys and sounds, evidently in process of growth, but much less advanced than those east of Mobile Bay; and these are among the evidences that along this stretch of shore the Gulf has encroached on the land to such an extent as to leave the original keys 20 to 40 miles behind."

Mr. McGee refers, in this connection, to the submerged state of the island of Batavia, inhabited in the days of Tacitus, to the formation of the Zuyder Zee by an invasion of the sea at about the end of the thirteenth century, and to the dyke-protected farms of the Netherlands, lying from 7 to 10 meters below tide-level.

The subsidence of the New Jersey coast has been estimated at two feet per century, and valuable estates are destroyed there annually. On the Gulf coast (at least between Mobile Bay and Galveston Harbor) the subsidence is believed, from the geologic indications, to be as rapid as on the New Jersey coast, and more rapid than on the Netherland coast. Among the earlier catastrophes on the Gulf was the swallowing, 44 years ago, of L'Isle Dernéal, a health and pleasure resort of New Orleans, with most of its transient population, consisting of wealthy Creole families.

Mr. McGee concludes with a warning against the rebuilding of Galveston on the old site:

"And let it not be forgotten that, of all localities on the Gulf coast, Galveston is most exposed; it is the last of the great natural embankments of the west coast remaining unsubmerged, and hence is open to a wider range of gales than any other; it is the point of contact between opposing forces, the land subsidence on the one hand and

wave-building on the other hand, just as was Sabine Bank in its day—but, like that bank, it is bound to be overwhelmed by one of the few great forces of nature to which human ingenuity and strength must bow."

WEST-INDIAN HURRICANES.

IN *Cram's Magazine* for October, Dr. Eugene Murray-Aaron, who has seen service in the West Indies as a weather observer under General Greely, records some of the data acquired by him in that capacity regarding the typical late-summer storms, of which the one that devastated Galveston is the most recent example.

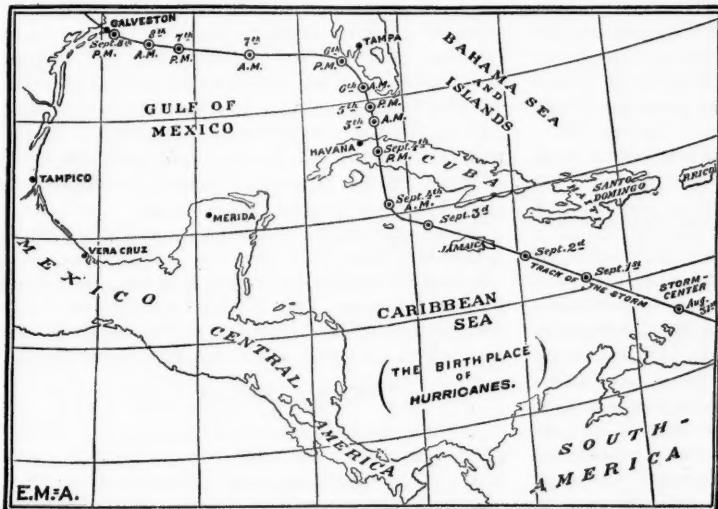
An old resident of Barbados, who had accurately observed one of the most destructive hurricanes of the century, is quoted as saying :

"The strongest houses were caused to vibrate to their foundations, and the surface of the very earth trembled as the destroyer raged over it. No thunder was at any time heard ; had the cannon of a hundred contending armies been discharged or the fulmination of the most tremendous thunder-claps rattled through the air, the sounds could not have been distinguished. The horrible roar and yelling of the wind, the noise of the tumultuous ocean, whose frightful waves threatened the town with destruction, if all the other elements might spare ; the clattering of tiles ; the falling of roofs and walls, and the combination of a thousand sounds, formed the most hideous din, which appalled the heart and bewildered if not alienated the mind. No ade-

quate idea of the sensations which then distracted the mind and confounded the faculties can possibly be conveyed to those who were distant from the scene of terror. The sheltered observer of the storm, amazed and in a state of stupor, was fixed to the spot where he stood ; the sight and hearing were overpowered, and the excess of astonishment refused admission to fear. What must have been the mental agonies of those wretched fugitives who, destitute of a place of refuge, were the sport of the dreadful and ruthless tempest, and alive to all its horrors ! This unparalleled uproar continued without intermission for over three and one-half hours—the raging blast then veering from the west and other points to the southward of it, attended with avalanches of rain.

"The storm now and then for a few moments abated, at which time the dreadful roar of the elements having partially subsided, the falling of tiles and building materials, which by the last dreadful gusts had probably been carried to a lofty height ; the shrieks of suffering victims ; the cries of terrified inhabitants, and the howling of dogs—were clearly audible, and awakened the mind to a distressing apprehension of the havoc and carnage which had been and still were desolating the island. . . . Almost every merchant ruined, and few of them possessing so much as a suit of clothes to walk the streets in. Every vessel thrown high up into the bay. . . . A piece of lead which weighed 150 pounds was carried to a distance of more than 1,800 feet ; and another piece, 400 pounds in weight, was lifted up and carried a distance of 1,680 feet. Rafters and beams were flying through the air with frightful rapidity, and shingles pierced in several instances hardwood trees and remained sticking in them. Another instance is related that part of a child's trumpet was driven into an evergreen tree, where it buried itself in the trunk. If an object so light as a piece of tin can be driven into wood, the force required to bury it in the tree may be imagined."

Dr. Murray-Aaron describes the Caribbean Sea as "a great salt-water cauldron," for the most part surrounded by more or less continuous moun-



MAP SHOWING THE TRACK OF THE GREAT HURRICANE OF 1900, AUGUST 31 TO SEPTEMBER 9.

tain-chains. It is supposed that the initial impulses of these fierce tropical storms come from the sides of the sub-Andean Cordilleras.

"While the fury of these storms in their native places is greater than that of our Western cyclones, their appearance on our coasts is so gradual, and we are now so thoroughly warned of them by our weather bureau, that great loss of life can only in these times be attributed to criminal neglect on the part of the people in paying no attention to these warnings. When it shall dawn upon those going to sea and those living in specially exposed regions that these warnings are really meant to warn, such great loss of life as we have in the past witnessed will cease to be possible. These storms have usually lost some of the fury with which they are wont to visit certain of the West-Indian group by the time they reach the Atlantic coast. None has yet, nor is ever likely to do, the terrible damage that befell *Savannah la Mar*, Jamaica, in 1744. That thriving town, rich with the gains of sugar and rum on land and endless freebooting by sea, was in one dread hour so utterly swept from existence that not one dwelling, not one soul, nor ox, nor horse, was left as a reminder of the furies that saw the sun go down on a thriving community and its place covered by morn with many feet of sand, cast up by the mighty tidal wave that had come as a fitting climax."

FRUIT-GROWING IN AMERICA.

IN the November *Harper's*, Mr. Theodore Dreiser gives some remarkable figures of the great fruit-growing industry of America. He shows the enormous difference in our fruit-growing capacity between the present time and 1814, when only half a barrel of raisins could be found in the city of New York to make plum puddings in celebrating the treaty of peace. To-day, California alone ships more than 100,000,000 pounds of raisins a year.

\$80,000,000 WORTH OF STRAWBERRIES A YEAR.

Mr. Dreiser says that \$80,000,000 worth of strawberries are grown and consumed in the United States in a single season. Nowadays the strawberry season begins in the large cities in the late November and ends the following August, and the prices vary from one dollar to six cents a quart. Only twenty years ago, all of the strawberries eaten by New York and Brooklyn people were grown in Long Island and New Jersey. The producing area has been gradually extended through Delaware, Maryland, and Virginia; and then the fast freight lines brought in the Carolinas, Georgia, Florida, and

even Alabama, Mississippi, Tennessee, and Arkansas. Now it costs but two cents to ship a box of strawberries from Southern Arkansas to New York. What oranges mean to Florida, and what oranges and grapes mean to California, are fairly well known, but Mr. Dreiser's showing of the importance of the fruit industry in Georgia and Alabama is most striking. Alabama, Texas, Missouri, and Tennessee are beginning to emulate Georgia in the production of peaches. In the last-named State, peaches have come to be king, instead of cotton, and cotton plantations have been supplanted by choice orchards, and packing-houses, canning-factories, and crate-factories have followed the extensive growing of fruit.

PEACHES ARE KING IN GEORGIA.

"There is a section of the State, traversed by one of the large east-coast roads, which is full of the new-found riches of fruit. This part of the State is singularly productive, and during the dull summer months, when cotton and grain crops are laid by, there are busy scenes among the peach-pickers and peach-packers. The whole section of the State, from Griffin to Smithville, thence to Albany, Cuthbert, and Fort Gaines, is one unbroken stretch of fruiting trees and perfect-bearing species. There is one man at Marshallville who individually controls 120,000 trees. Possibly this is one of the largest peach orchards in Georgia. One combination of men in Fort Valley controls 300,000 trees. In the neighborhood of this town are 700,000 trees in full fruitage this year. And yet the peach industry is known to be in its infancy here. In spite of tons of fruit shipped to Eastern and Western markets, the industry has just begun. The railroad traversing this one section handled 1,786 refrigerator-cars last season, loaded and iced at the various points of shipment. In the past ten years the same road has built 25 miles of spur tracks to accommodate growers whose orchards were coming into fruitage."

The little State of Delaware alone produces 4,000,000 baskets of peaches. Last year Connecticut furnished the same number; Maryland equals Delaware, and Michigan surpasses both. Mr. Dreiser tells of one peach farmer in Michigan whose orchards yield him \$80,000 a year.

THE FAR-WESTERN FRUIT.

As late as 1882, the California and Colorado fruit was sold in the East only at fabulous prices and in very small quantities. To-day, there is, in the fruit season—in fact, during the whole year—not a single city square in the business districts which has not its fruit store or stand covered

with the beautiful fruit of the Pacific Slope, to be sold at prices which allow every office-boy to indulge in handsome California pears, peaches, and grapes as a luncheon staple.

To show how rapidly fruit trade can grow where a demand is suddenly found together with the possibility of supplying it, Mr. Dreiser says that in 1896 a few crates of Rockeyford melons were shipped out of Colorado for the first time. The New York commission merchants at once saw the possibilities of this fruit, and the very next season 133 carloads were raised; in 1898 1,500 carloads were sent out, and to-day 23,000 acres, scattered through 19 States, are devoted to the raising of Rockeyford melons. The Government has never secured an adequate census of the entire fruit trade of the United States. Mr. Dreiser estimates that \$1,000,000,000 a year would be a moderate estimate.

THE MAN WHO INVENTED THE SUNDAY NEWSPAPER.

IN an article on "The Journalism of New York," in the November *Munsey's*, Mr. Hartley Davis tells how the great metropolitan dailies are made and marketed. Mr. Davis says the "great dailies" rely on the Sunday editions for their profits, and that three-fourths of the total net earnings come from that source. The morning edition does not pay, because the heaviest burdens of expense—telegraph and cable tolls, big salaries, correspondents' accounts, and the like—are saddled upon it. The morning edition is depended on to give prestige, standing, and influence to the property.

MR. GODDARD'S INNOVATION.

"The Sunday newspaper was the first to show a radical departure from old methods. It influenced the evening, and together they have had a marked effect upon the morning editions. Much of the so-called 'yellowness' first displayed itself on Sunday. To Morrill Goddard belongs the chief *crédit*, or responsibility, of the modern Sunday newspaper. For years he has been known as 'the father of the Sunday newspaper,' and he has now reached the advanced age of thirty-three. He comes of a good Maine family, was graduated from Dartmouth when he was twenty, and entered upon newspaper work on the New York *World*. At twenty-five he was placed in charge of the Sunday edition, and free swing was given to him. It is Mr. Pulitzer's policy to ask certain results of his editors, and then to give them full authority.

THE SUNDAY EDITION A SEPARATE ENTITY.

"Mr. Goddard was the first man to make the Sunday edition a separate entity. Theretofore it had been under the care of a so-called Sunday editor, working under the direction of a busy managing editor, who had little time to give to it. Artists and writers in the city department furnished the matter at the Sunday editor's request—when they had time.

"The first thing Mr. Goddard did was to organize his own staff of artists, writers, and assistant editors, who worked for him exclusively. He made up his mind that the Sunday newspapers were not interesting, and it was his business to make them so. In a little time he had the whole establishment in a turmoil. The cables sang with messages to Mr. Pulitzer, then in Paris, warning him that 'this young man is ruining your property.'

ITS INFLUENCE ON CIRCULATION.

"By way of beginning, Mr. Goddard printed a page picture of a wonderful monkey in Central Park. Up to that time, two and three column cuts were about the limit of size, and the page drawing was a novelty. It was not long before Mr. Goddard was printing double-page illustrations. There were big, smashing headlines, too, and stirring articles about things that had never before been described in newspapers. It made the judicious grieve and the conservative rage; but the circulation mounted upward by 10,000 and 15,000 copies a week. In five years, Mr. Goddard had increased the sales of the *Sunday World* from 200,000 to 600,000 copies. Then he left the *World* to take a similar position on the *Journal*, and in three years he had built up the circulation of its Sunday edition from 100,000 to 600,000 copies.

"During his régime, the magazine idea has been introduced into the Sunday newspaper. The comic supplements alone are estimated to have increased the circulation of those Sunday editions which carry them by 50,000 a week. The colored illustrations and the half-tones were other important innovations, although the wisest 'circulation sharps' say they cannot trace any increased sales to them.

"These colored supplements go to press about three weeks in advance of the date of issue. The black-and-white supplement, with the exception of one section, is printed two weeks in advance, and yet the rush in the Sunday department is often as great as in the editorial rooms of the dailies."

THE PERIODICALS REVIEWED.

THE WORLD'S WORK.

THE first number of Doubleday, Page & Co.'s new magazine, *The World's Work*, appears for November. The editor is Mr. Walter H. Page, a member of the firm which publishes the magazine. Mr. Page has had a very full and successful editorial career at the helm of the *Forum*, and later as editor of the *Atlantic Monthly*. He outlines the special field and ambitions of the new magazine in his opening editorial remarks. Calling attention to the vast industrial and commercial progress in this country resulting from American character and enterprise, he hails the age when, "to an increasing number, work has become less and less a means of bread-winning and more and more a form of noble exercise. The artist always took joy in his work; it is the glory of our time that the man of affairs can find a similar pleasure in his achievements. It is with the activities of the newly organized world, its problems, and even with its romance, that this magazine will earnestly concern itself, trying to convey the cheerful spirit of men who do things."

A MAGAZINE OF DEPARTMENTS.

The World's Work is divided into departments, the first, under the title "The March of Events," dealing through short articles with such current topics as "The After-Glow of the Boer War," "The Coal Strike and the Public," "The Rebuilding of Galveston," "The Outlook for Young Men;" questions arising from our new colonial experiments, the Chinese problem, and various social and economic questions of the day. Following this department is a group of features, many of them illustrated, including travel sketches, fiction, and nature-study, as well as discussions of public questions. The magazine ends with two departments following out more definitely its peculiar aim, "Short Stories of Men Who Work," and "Among the World's Workers;" the latter being occupied with giving examples of the country's prosperity as seen in the industrial conditions at various business centers.

THE COST OF NATIONAL CAMPAIGNS.

An article on "The Cost of National Campaigns" gives a striking idea of the sudden and huge increase in the expense of getting a President elected. The writer estimates that the cost of the Presidential campaign in 1864 was \$200,000 for both parties, and that the cost of the National Committee's operations alone in 1900 will be over \$5,000,000; whereas "a Presidential campaign, including also Congressional, gubernatorial, and lesser campaigns, causes the total expenditure of perhaps \$20,000,000.

A WARNING TO AMERICAN MANUFACTURERS.

Mr. Frederick Emory, chief of the Bureau of Foreign Commerce, writes on "Our Growth as a World-Power," emphasizing especially the economic reasons for political expansion, and showing that our recent great leaps ahead in international trade have brought us far ahead of all competitors except Great Britain in exports and imports, and but slightly behind her. Mr. Emory thinks there is danger, even now, in this rapid success; that

American manufacturers "may make the mistake of thinking their goods will continue to sell themselves. It is not to be expected that nations like Great Britain, Germany, and France will permit themselves to be deprived of markets they have long controlled without a serious struggle. They will undoubtedly imitate our goods, and perhaps improve upon them; and they still have a great advantage over us in their carefully systematized methods of gaining and holding foreign trade."

The World's Work has a somewhat larger page than the REVIEW OF REVIEWS, and therefore considerably larger than the usual magazine size. The new magazine is carefully printed on handsome paper, and the illustration scheme is dignified by unusually well-executed full-page portraits of Secretary Hay, the Hon. Richard Olney, Rudyard Kipling, and Joel Chandler Harris.

THE CENTURY.

THE November *Century* is an exceptionally sumptuous magazine, with illustrations unusual in quality, even for the Century Company's products. The opening article, Mr. Maurice Thompson's "My Midwinter Garden," is resplendent with Mr. Harry Fenn's drawings of the symmetrical flowers printed in three colors.

Mrs. Schuyler Van Rensselaer hails "A New Sculptor" in Hendrick Christian Andersen, a young Norwegian-American, only twenty-eight years old, who has accomplished most striking results in the expression of character through his figures. Mr. Andersen's most conspicuous works are his equestrian statue and the two groups called "Serenity" and "Fellowship," intended for casting in bronze.

BISHOP POTTER ON OUR DUTY IN THE PHILIPPINES.

An important article of interest is Bishop Henry C. Potter's on "The Problem of the Philippines." Bishop Potter says that the duty of the United States does not seem to be obscure. He thinks that it was a blunder of Dewey's that, after his great naval achievement, he failed to see that his task at Manila was at an end. "But at this writing there is no honorable way out. To throw up our task now would be a cruelty to those whom we abandoned, and a confession of our impotence which would disgrace us before the world. We must go on now, whether or no we find the task more expensive in men and means and less profitable commercially than originally we expected. A great nation cannot abandon a weaker people which it has before all men adopted as its ward without confessing that, great as it claims to be, it has nothing to impart, nothing to sacrifice, in order to give freedom and good government to those who have not forfeited all claim to such gifts because they have looked for them in the wrong direction."

ACTING AS A PROFESSION.

Mr. Bronson Howard makes an exceedingly readable article on "Our Schools for the Stage." He considers that at last the profession of acting has in English-speaking

communities taken its proper, natural place with other artistic professions, instead of being considered a mere desperate resort in the last emergency of need, as it undoubtedly was considered a third of a century ago. He says we have been the first in the world to establish a fully organized school for the training of young men and women for the stage with a large corps of teachers, additional lecturers, and special exercises in every requirement, physical and intellectual. Even the Conservatoire of Paris has no such organization as a school as the American Academy of the Dramatic Arts, founded by Mr. Franklin H. Sargent, its president.

HARPER'S MAGAZINE.

FROM the November *Harper's* we have selected Mr. Theodore Dreiser's article on "Fruit-Growing in America" to review in another department.

Prof. W. O. Atwater continues his investigation of the dangers and usefulness of alcohol in an article entitled "Alcohol Physiology and Temperance Reform." The sum and substance of Professor Atwater's full discussion is that, while all investigators agree that alcohol in large quantities is injurious, their judgments as to the results of small doses are conflicting; probably where men are called on for great muscular exertion, or continued nervous expenditure, the balance of testimony would be against the use of alcohol, even in small quantities. Professor Atwater thinks it very necessary that the public should have a better understanding of the nature of the drink-evil; and he thinks the time has come for the calm and careful study of the causes and the adaptation of treatment to the nature of the drink-disease, as against the conventional temperance-work.

The literary feature of this number of *Harper's* is the collection of "The Love-Letters of Victor Hugo," which are published with comments by M. Paul Meurice. The letters in this section are addressed to Mlle. Adèle Foucher, when Hugo was but eighteen years of age and his sweetheart was seventeen.

SCRIBNER'S MAGAZINE.

THE November *Scribner's* opens with the concluding chapter of Mr. Henry Norman's very excellent account of the Siberian Railway. Now it takes thirty-eight days to go from Vladivostok to Moscow, and part of the journey has to be done by horse-power and a very large part by steamer. The uninterrupted railway journey from Moscow to Irkutsk, 3,371 miles, occupies about nine days. Mr. Norman comments on the extremely low fare—only \$44.30, including sleeping-car accommodations; "and this is for a train practically as luxurious as any in the world, and incomparably superior to the ordinary European or American train." In the eastern stretches of the journey the rate of speed is very low, going down to 12 miles an hour, and Mr. Norman tells us that this speed cannot be greatly increased until new rails are laid. The present weight of the rails is but little over 16 pounds to the foot, about half the weight used on the Pennsylvania road between New York and Philadelphia. Mr. Norman thinks this gigantic enterprise will ultimately cost no less than \$500,000,000. "Since the great wall of China, the world has seen no one material undertaking of equal magnitude. That Russia, single-handed, should have conceived it and carried it out makes the

imagination falter before her future influence upon the course of events."

Mr. Samuel Parsons, Jr., looking at the Paris Exposition from the standpoint of a landscape artist, says: "We may criticise some of the details, as the French themselves do more than any one else; but we must concede that probably never has such a glorious panorama of artistic life presented itself as in the *ensemble* at Paris in 1900." The one fundamental criticism Mr. Parsons has to make is the confined area allotted for the exposition; the Paris fair having but 250 acres all told, as against 800 acres occupied by the White City at Chicago.

Mr. Jesse Lynch Williams has a pleasant description of "The Cross Streets of New York;" Mr. J. M. Barrie concludes his serial, "Tommy and Grizel;" and there are short stories by Mr. Henry James and Mary Katherine Lee, the latter being illustrated very daintily in color.

M'CLURE'S MAGAZINE.

FROM the November *McClure's* we have selected the excellent article on Senator Mark Hanna by William Allen White to review among the "Leading Articles of the Month."

The magazine opens with a readable illustrated article on "The First Flight of Count Zeppelin's Airship." Count Zeppelin is an officer in the German army, and his interest in airships is primarily that of a military tactician seeking for a new and terrible engine of war. His airship is not a balloon, but rather a row of seventeen balloons confined in an enormous cylindrical shell with pointed ends, shaped like a cigar. The airship was tried last July, with five passengers occupying two aluminum cars suspended below the body of the shell. The balloons serve to lift the structure in air, and it is driven backward or forward by means of large air-screws, operated by two benzine engines. The machine cost the inventor more than \$1,000,000. It is an enormous affair, nearly 420 feet long, or longer than a first-class battleship, and its total weight is eleven tons. Mr. Eugen Wolf, the writer of this article, and one of the passengers on the trial trip, says there is every reason to believe this airship will attain a velocity of 26 feet a second, or 17 miles an hour. There are two 16-horse-power engines; and, if a third can be added by the saving of weight, the ship should make 30 feet per second. It was sunset when the airship was tried, and it rose very smoothly, quietly, majestically, described a large circle, and executed various maneuvers. The trial was made over the water, and the ship rose 1,300 feet above the lake. When the trial was completed the airship sank slowly, and rested on the water as smoothly as a sea-gull. Count Zeppelin and his assistants are now hard at work improving upon every point, and they look forward confidently to ultimate results which will make the airship a practicable vehicle.

THE GERMAN SOLDIER'S TRAINING.

Mr. Ray Stannard Baker has been studying in Germany the process of "Making a German Soldier," and writes on that subject in this number of *McClure's*. Mr. Baker says that the first great event in the life of the German boy is his confirmation, and the second his first week as a soldier. The boy and his parents decide whether he will enter as a *freiwillige*, to serve for one year only, or whether he must take the full service of two years. The physicians reject great numbers of

boys because they are not strong enough, or because they have such defects as the loss of the trigger-finger, color-blindness, or curvature of the spine. A few escape because they are the sole support of a widowed mother, and for similar reasons; but the authorities keep an eye on these, and if the conditions of their life change, they must serve afterwards.

STORY OF THE PEKING SIEGE.

One of the most graphic pictures of the terrible period in Peking, when the whites were besieged by the Boxers and Chinese army, is given in the diary of Mrs. E. K. Lowry, illustrated with excellent diagrams of the city and the European quarters. When the outbreak began, Mrs. Lowry was living in the Methodist Mission, about three-quarters of a mile east of the American legation. Her husband was absent in Tientsin.

THE COSMOPOLITAN.

CAPT. A. W. BUTT, U.S.V., writes in the November *Cosmopolitan* on "A Problem in Army Transportation," the problem being to transport horses across the Pacific to the Philippines for the use of our troops. It is no light matter to transport a cargo of horses across the Pacific. The animal must stand on its legs about forty days, and always suffers more or less from the sudden change of the sea voyage. The old method was to sling the horse, holding him in his recumbent position by means of a breastplate. In rough weather this was terribly uncomfortable and dangerous, and produced frequent panics in the cargo. The Quartermaster's Department has made a study of this question, and has now brought the transportation of horses to such a degree of perfection that the average loss on a voyage does not amount to 3 per cent. Other governments transporting animals count on a loss of 15 per cent. Captain Butt was the first to try the experiment of crossing the Pacific without unloading stock, and out of 456 horses only one was lost. This great record was obtained by extra care and the exercise of common sense. Electric and steam fans were used to give fresh air to the animals, and they were lifted by means of portable stalls, and the horses were tied in their stationary stalls on the transport with ropes long enough to give them three feet leeway from the stall. The horses learned to ride with the movement of the vessel, and after six hours of the first rough weather they worked together as if they were uniform machinery.

THE FUTURE OF GALVESTON.

Mr. John Fay, in an excellent article on "The Galveston Tragedy," prophesies that the Island City will never again be popular, as a city of homes, until some engineering genius constructs a sea-wall, or successfully elevates the city ten feet above its present level. He thinks that these feats are not beyond the bounds of possibility.

LIFE AT CAPE NOME.

Eleanor B. Caldwell, in her description of "A Woman's Experience at Cape Nome," tells of her visit to the newest mining-camp last summer. Her first dinner in a Nome restaurant consisted of a thin, tough steak, potatoes, poor bread and poor coffee, for \$2 apiece. She says that all the money that is being made is made in these saloons and restaurants. One small eat-

ing-house, 12 by 20 feet, rented for \$75 a day. Water sold at three buckets for 25 cents, and these economic unpleasantnesses were by no means the most important obstacles to a lady's sojourn at Nome. When the small-pox broke out a couple of weeks after the writer's party arrived, she took the next boat home.

LIPPINCOTT'S MAGAZINE.

IN the November *Lippincott's*, the complete novel of the month is "Madame Noel," by George H. Picard, a story whose scene is laid in the Acadian community of the Aroostook country.

Mr. Frederic Poole, writing on "China's Greatest Curiosity," describes the most striking characteristics of the Chinese language. The language used in Chinese books is never spoken, while the colloquial in written form would be looked on with supreme contempt by the average Chinese student. The mandarin is the court or official language, and is spoken in North, West, and Central China, while the Cantonese is spoken in Canton and the Southern districts.

The late Mr. Stephen Crane's accounts of "Great Battles of the World" are continued in "The Storming of Burkersdorf Heights," when Frederick of Prussia, on July 20, 1762, won his dramatic and important victory.

Dr. Theodore F. Wolfe contributes a pleasant essay, "In the Footprints of Bryant," which describes the secluded nook of the Housatonic region of Massachusetts where Dr. Peter Bryant and his bride lived in a little frame cottage.

THE NEW ENGLAND MAGAZINE.

IN the November *New England Magazine*, Mary E. Trueblood gives an account of "The Study of Housekeeping in Boston." Boston is to be thanked for the first organized systematic effort to teach the science of cooking. In March, 1879, the Woman's Educational Association started the Boston Cooking-School. Mrs. S. T. Hooper was the first president, and Miss Maria Parloa, and later Mrs. Mary J. Lincoln, gave a high standard to the instruction of the institution. That the school is eminently practical is shown by an incident Miss Trueblood gives, of the application of a family whose income was \$10 a week, and who wanted to know from the director whether they could begin housekeeping, or whether they had better pay \$8 a week for board and room. The school found and furnished two rooms and planned their meals for them, and after two months of oversight turned over the conduct of the little home to the couple with happy results.

The Hon. George S. Boutwell gives an interesting reminiscence of "The Last of the Ocean Slave-Traders." Mr. Boutwell was counsel for the republic of Haiti in a claim pressed by the alleged slave-trader against Haiti for having captured and imprisoned him. The bark *William* was the trader, and she was captured in the bay of Port Liberté, in April, 1861. The captain, Peltier, escaped from prison in Haiti, and pressed a claim for \$2,500,000 against the little republic.

H. C. Shelley gives a very pleasant description of "The Home of Sir Philip Sidney," in the picturesque old village of Penshurst, in the county of Kent, which became the home of the Sidneys about the middle of the sixteenth century.

Mr. James L. Hughes gives a full and finely illustrated description of "Toronto."

MUNSEY'S.

IN the November *Munsey's*, Mr. Hartley Davis gives an excellent account of the making of a great metropolitan newspaper. We have quoted from his article in another department.

Mr. Charles E. Russell, in summing up the results of France's World's Fair effort, says that in spite of all reports of failure, and no matter what is the financial outcome, the exposition of 1900 has unquestionably proved to be the greatest, the most complete, and the most instructive in the world's history. Mr. Russell is not so overwhelmingly impressed with the architectural features at Paris; it is the tremendous and varied array of the world's work that seems to him to make the Paris fair preëminent. As to financial results, while it was not impressive to see tickets of admission nominally worth twenty-five cents hawked around the streets at ten, eight, and even five cents, Mr. Russell reminds us that the exposition management did not sell tickets to the public, and received no part of the proceeds of sales at reduced rates. Tickets of admission were allotted to holders of the exposition bonds, and such holders subsequently sold the tickets for whatever they could get for them.

Mr. John Paul Bocock makes a dramatic story of "The Romance of the Telephone," in his account of the long struggle between Alexander Graham Bell, the successful inventor, and Prof. Elisha Gray, the unsuccessful claimant, with a huge fortune at stake. He says the annual expenses of the Bell Telephone Company for protecting its patents have amounted to as much as \$400,000.

OUTING.

IN the November *Outing*, Prof. I. T. Headland, of Peking University, writes on "Chinese Sports and Games," and illustrates his text from photographs of sportive Celestials "kicking the shoe," wrestling, tumbling, and playing hocky. Professor Headland says he has never seen a people so much given to play as the Chinese; but their games, like much else in their civilization, seem not to have gotten beyond the experimental stage. Professor Headland shows that the Chinese are, very contrary to current Western belief, exceptionally fond of athletic exercises; and he tells of no less than fifty popular games, nearly all of them more or less athletic in nature, which he collected in Peking alone.

A symposium on football by such authorities as Walter Camp, George H. Brooke, Haughton, of Harvard, and Chadwick, of Yale, is an important and timely feature of the number. Mr. Camp, writing on "Methods and Developments in Tactics and Play," says that for the last few years nothing especially new in the line of the running game has come to the front, but decided advances have been made in punting and drop-kicking, and especially in the management of the kicking games.

Mr. Leonidas Hubbard, Jr., writing on the Adirondack woods, calls for a generous appropriation from the coming legislature to enable the Forest-Preserve Board to do its work properly. The work of preserving the Adirondacks began in 1897, when the legislature of New York created the State Forest-Preserve Board and appropriated \$1,000,000 for its immediate use. The board was authorized to procure by purchase as much land as possible within the boundaries of the park. The law provided that land whose owners refused to

sell might be taken, and the owners were directed to present their complaints to the Court of Claims.

"The board paid from \$1.50, the price of 'lumbered' land, to \$7 an acre, and more than 250,000 acres were procured with the first appropriation. Later appropriations have enabled it to increase the State holding to something more than 400,000 acres. More than half of this is land that has not been lumbered, and still possesses its primeval wildness. There are some hundreds of thousand acres within the boundaries of the park that will be protected from the timber-cutter by reason of its being owned now by sporting clubs."

Lieut. William Kelly, Jr., tells of the use of "Animals in Warfare"—not only horses and mules, but camels, oxen, elephants, and dogs. He says the oxen are exasperating in their indifference to any demands for haste; but, on the other hand, they do not mind a canonaading, whereas no one has ever succeeded in making elephants stand fire quietly. Horses require too much attention to be entirely successful draught animals, and the mule is probably the most important war animal. Dogs are used in the German army to assist relief parties in discovering the whereabouts of men wounded in battle. Several regiments own packs of war-dogs drilled to assist in ambulance work. They are also used as watch-dogs to prevent surprise, and as messengers, and it is said they will have another use in attacking bicycle corps.

THE LADIES' HOME JOURNAL.

MR. EDWARD BOK, editor of the *Ladies' Home Journal*, protests in the November number of that magazine against the useless, and therefore bad, furnishing of American homes. "The curse of the American home to-day is useless bric-a-brac. A room in which we feel that we can freely breathe is so rare that we are instinctively surprised when we see one. It is the exception rather than the rule that we find a restful room. As a matter of fact, to this common error of over-furnishing so many of our homes are directly due many of the nervous breakdowns of our women. The average American woman is a perfect slave to the useless rubbish which she has in her rooms. This rubbish, of a costly nature where plenty exists, and of a cheap and tawdry character in homes of moderate incomes, is making housekeeping a nerve-racking burden. A serious phase of this furnishing is that hundreds of women believe these jimmicks ornament their rooms. They refuse to believe that useless ornamentation always disfigures and never ornaments."

AN OFFICE-ROOM NEEDED FOR THE PRESIDENT.

Col. T. A. Bingham, U.S.A., presents plans for enlarging the White House without destroying the noble lines of the present mansion. One of the present needs is to get a suitable working-place for the President. A separate office-building has been thought of. "But when the routine daily life of the President is considered, it will be found to be more convenient for him, and more conducive to the transaction of public business, to add to the present White House rather than to build at a distance from it. The President can have no set hours for his work, and necessarily does much of the routine at odd moments. There are also times when he works early and late; and, while he may not always need to be at his desk, he requires his tools—papers, records, clerks, messengers, etc.—always within

close call, no matter what the weather. A President cannot close his desk at a fixed hour and go away to a separate home until office hours next day. There are many matters brought to his attention at all hours of the day, after office hours as well as during them, some of which must be settled at once, and he may need to refer to office records or to use a clerk. As a matter of fact, a President does very little of his routine office work, such as signing papers, dictating, etc., during office hours; for his time is then taken up for the most part in seeing people, and it can never be otherwise in our country. This is a very practical argument against having his house and office separated."

THE FORUM.

THE opening article of the October *Forum* is contributed by Senator-elect Dolliver, of Iowa, and is entitled "The Paramount Issues of the Campaign." Senator Dolliver makes a vigorous argument on the money question, contending that the election of Mr. Bryan in 1900 would be fraught with as much danger to the financial interests of the country as it would have been in 1896.

SHOULD CUBA HAVE INDEPENDENCE?

The Rev. C. W. Currier writes on the subject of Cuban independence, analyzing the joint resolution passed by Congress on the outbreak of the war with Spain, and directing attention to the instructions of the military governor of Cuba, dated July 25 of the present year, ordering a general election to be held in September, and declaring that the people of Cuba, having established municipal government, are now ready to proceed "to the establishment of a general government which shall assume and exercise sovereignty, jurisdiction, and control over the island." Dr. Currier states that, from an interview held not long ago with President McKinley, in company with several representative Cubans, he received the impression that Cuba's independence was only a question of a few months.

In the same number of the *Forum*, a prominent Cuban, whose name is withheld, pleads for the annexation of the island to the United States. He shows the heterogeneous composition of the population, considers the disasters that have attended the careers of the South American Latin republics, and declares that Cuba's best hopes lie under the Stars and Stripes.

THE POSSIBILITY OF A TIMBER FAMINE.

Chief Geographer Gannett, of the United States Geological Survey, writes in answer to the question, "Is a Timber Famine Imminent?" Mr. Gannett has reached the conclusion that the average stand of timber upon the wooded lands of the East probably does not exceed 1,500 feet per acre, the area of woodland in this part of the country being a little less than 500,000,000 acres. The total stand in the country, he thinks, is about 1,380,000,000,000 feet. In 1890 the cut was about 25,000,000,000 feet, and since then the annual cut has somewhat increased. The present stand would, therefore, supply the present rate of consumption for about fifty years. Some species, however, such as the Southern pine, the redwood, and the red fir, will last longer than others; and some species, like the black walnut and the white pine, are already very nearly exhausted.

THE CORN KITCHEN AT THE PARIS EXPOSITION.

Mr. J. S. Crawford, writing on "The Lesson of the Maize Kitchen at Paris," makes several suggestions relative to practicable measures for creating a demand for American corn, and supplying the market of Europe. He suggests that the differences between American and European maize ought to be shown to Europeans through our consuls and other agencies; that depots of supply should be established where corn flours and corn foods could be obtained at the lowest prices compatible with a fair profit; and that the methods of cooking these maize dishes should be promulgated at the supply depots. He states that the so-called "Corn Kitchen" at the exposition serves corn dishes to from 100 to 500 persons a day, and that this kitchen has created a great deal of inquiry among visitors.

THE MISSIONARIES IN CHINA.

Regarding the future of the missionaries in China, the Hon. Charles Denby, formerly United States Minister to that country, answers the question, "Shall the Missions be Abandoned?" emphatically in the negative. He advocates care in the selection of mission locations and restraint in the spirit of adventure. He declares that all classes in China have a great measure of respect for, and confidence in, the Christian missionaries settled in the country. "While it is proper to give to the imperial maritime customs, to the ministers and consuls, and to the great commercial houses full praise for their labors, we should not forget gratefully to remember those unobtrusive but influential agents of progress, whose inspiration came from a holier source than a desire for gain."

CANADA'S PREFERENTIAL-TRADE PROBLEM.

The Hon. John Charlton, a prominent Canadian and a member of the Anglo-American Joint Commission, contributes a paper on "Imperial and Colonial Preferential Trade." In the matter of preferential trade between Great Britain and her colonies, Mr. Charlton shows that Great Britain's position is essentially different from that of the colonies, and that nothing can be attained in the way of reciprocal tariffs except by an imperial zollverein. He says: "The action of the Canadian Government in advancing the differential rate to 33½ per cent. is probably a mistake. The step meets with the general disapproval of the Canadian manufacturers; and there is force in the Conservative objection, that the action is purely sentimental, as the British tariff presents no features applicable to ourselves that do not apply to all other nations."

At the time of writing his article, Mr. Charlton regarded it as not at all improbable that, in the event of Conservative success at the approaching general election, the entire system of preferential duties would be swept away, unless Great Britain should reciprocate by granting preferential treatment for Canadian products in her markets.

THE NEGRO PROBLEM AND DISFRANCHISEMENT.

Representative Underwood, of Alabama, argues against negro enfranchisement, asserting that practically, for twenty years, the negro has had no vote, and that existing conditions compel the white man thus to protect himself. Mr. Underwood points out that in the North the negro, as a rule, is barred from most of

the trades, and must content himself to serve as a day-laborer, unless he can enter one of the professions; while, in the South, all fields of honest employment have at all times been open to him, and he has been protected in his right to work and earn an honest living.

THE COAL SUPREMACY OF THE UNITED STATES.

Mr. Edward S. Meade shows that the United States, while drawing on only a portion of her available coal deposits, increased her output during twenty-eight years six times as rapidly as the average of her four competitors,—Great Britain, Germany, France, and Belgium,—who have taxed their entire resources to supply their needs. Not only are our coal deposits more abundant than those of Europe, but the veins are of far greater thickness. "The United States has the most abundant, the easiest-mined, and the cheapest coal of any nation."

EDUCATION IN PORTO RICO.

Prof. Victor S. Clark, late president of the Insular Board of Education, writing on "Education in Porto Rico," states that nearly 100,000 modern American textbooks in Spanish have been used in the island; while teachers' examinations, conducted in writing, have set new standards of attainment before both pupils and teachers. Although the schools still occupy rented buildings, they have been separated from the teachers' residences, and thus a higher ideal of school organization has been introduced and greater emphasis placed upon the school as a distinct institution.

OTHER ARTICLES.

Mr. Marrion Wilcox writes on "Our Agreement with the Sultan of Sulu," and Sir Walter Besant on "The Atlantic Union." The article on "The British General Election," by the Hon. Henry W. Lucy ("Toby, M.P."), has been quoted in our department of "Leading Articles of the Month."

THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY.

IN the November *Atlantic*, Mr. William G. Brown, in his "Defense of American Parties," argues that our great political parties, "reckoning Populists as extreme and errant Democrats, soon to be absorbed in the greater mass their revolt has quickened, do in fact stand for a right and necessary division of the American people." While Mr. Brown admits that Bryanism, in its definite programme, is contrary to many Democratic precedents, he believes that, "in so far as it is a popular movement, so far as it is a matter of impulse, so far as it reflects character, it does not essentially differ from any essentially Democratic uprising of the past."

Mr. Edmund Noble, writing on "The Future of Russia," declares that the Czar's people have evinced the qualities and aptitudes "that will insure them a future of potency, even of splendor, in the coming progress of the world." He prophesies that the nation will not reach its full stature, however, until it gets a more advanced type of government, and "the modern and progressive institutions which such a type would insure."

In Mr. William E. Smythe's account of "The Struggle for Water in the West," he tells of Wyoming's excellent legislative control of the all-important water-rights. As the Missouri, the Columbia, and the Colo-

rado rivers all have their birth in Wyoming, it is fitting that this State should begin the work, so sorely needed, of giving some decent and effective oversight to the irrigation problem, the solution of which will make or mar the civilization of the arid West.

"The Wyoming law provides a complete system of administration, with a State engineer at its head. The State is apportioned into several large divisions, on the basis of watersheds, and these are divided into many districts. A commissioner presides over each division, and a superintendent over each small local district. These officials and their assistants are clothed with police powers, and it is a part of their duty to attend personally to the head-gates of all the canals, and be responsible for the amount of water which is permitted to flow into them. This method of administration completes the good work which was begun when the appropriations were reduced to the basis of actual beneficial use, and recorded in such a manner that no dispute could arise concerning them in the future. With these laws and this method of enforcing them, the lawyer is practically eliminated from the irrigation industry of Wyoming."

THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

THE most prominent feature of the *North American* for October is a symposium on "Bryan or McKinley?"—The Present Duty of American Citizens," in which the Hon. Adlai E. Stevenson, Senator Tillman, Mr. Edward M. Shepard, Mr. Richard Croker, and Mr. Erving Winslow give their reasons for supporting Bryan in this year's election; while Postmaster-General Charles Emory Smith, Senators Hoar, Platt, of New York, and Stewart, Mr. Andrew Carnegie, and ex-Controller Eckels present arguments for the re-election of President McKinley. The views of these gentlemen are so generally known that it is hardly necessary to attempt a recapitulation of their articles in this place. During the month of October they received very wide circulation throughout the United States.

IS BRITISH COMMERCE ON THE DECLINE?

In a rather complacent survey of Great Britain's foreign trade, Mr. Benjamin Taylor declares that Britons are not the least alarmed at American competition. He says: "They know that in time it will take the gilt off a good deal of their gingerbread; but they know by experience that, as the world develops, new industries grow. Some may pass from Britain to America, but others will succeed. Change is not necessarily decay. And I wish Americans could understand that the industrial development of the United States is not regarded with jealousy and envy by Great Britain, but rather with the quiet pride with which a man watches the progress in life of his own son. It is an old saying that 'there is no friendship in business.' Whether this be true or not, there is certainly no need for enmity. The more prosperous America becomes, the better will it be for us and the rest of the world, though the conditions may undergo change."

WILL JAPAN FIGHT RUSSIA?

A Japanese writer, Mr. Ozaki, writing on "Misunderstood Japan," states that all that is needed to make the relations between Japan and Russia thoroughly satisfactory is "a little honest, straightforward speak-

ing." The cause of probable hostilities between the two nations, he says, can lie only in misunderstanding. He shows that there is no such pressure of population as to justify any apprehension of strife with Russia on that score. As regards the present Japanese emigration to America and Australia, Mr. Ozaki declares that its cause is not the pressure of population at home, but the prospect of higher wages abroad. "Even sparsely populated Ireland sends out infinitely more emigrants than does densely populated Japan."

CATHOLIC CITIZENS AND CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS.

The Rev. Father Thomas H. Maione, a member of the Colorado State Board of Charities and Corrections, replies to the article in the September *North American* by Bishop McFaul on "Catholics and American Citizenship." As to the question whether Catholics in the United States are permitted to enjoy their constitutional rights to the full, and whether they are protected in the free exercise of their religion, Father Malone replies that these rights are universally enjoyed, not only in our own land, but in our new possessions. As to the allegation that Catholics are denied full spiritual privileges in the penal institutions of the different States, Father Malone's intimate knowledge of the facts forces him to a conclusion directly opposite to that expressed by Bishop McFaul. He declares that the condition against which the bishop declaims does not, except in rare instances, exist in the United States. For many years priests have been welcome to visit institutions in the State of New York; and "so, in wellnigh universal degree, has it been elsewhere." With rare exceptions, the general statement holds that Catholic priests are free to minister without let or hindrance to the inmates of city, county, State, and federal institutions.

OTHER ARTICLES.

In the series of articles on "The Great Religions of the World," Prof. T. W. Rhys Davids contributes a paper on Buddhism, and the Rev. A. W. Jackson writes on the late James Martineau. The article on "China and Russia," by the Hon. Josiah Quincy, has been reviewed in our department of "Leading Articles of the Month."

GUNTON'S MAGAZINE.

THE leading article in *Gunton's* for October is contributed by President John Henry Barrows, of Oberlin College, on "The Coming Regeneration of China." Dr. Barrows valiantly defends the work of the Christian missionaries in China, showing that the missionaries have stood by the Chinese people in fighting the opium and liquor traffics. Dr. Barrows asserts that the missionaries are not particularly obnoxious to the Chinese, and that they usually have more friends than the merchants.

THE COAL STRIKE.

An editorial article on the coal-miners' strike in Pennsylvania censures the operators for denying the men's right to act through their organizations, and for refusing to treat with the highest officers of the union. "Regardless of the merits of the particular grievances recited in the laborers' demands, by refusing to use every available means rationally to adjust the differences before resorting to the disrupting and impoverishing

methods of fighting a strike, the corporations put themselves clearly and unmistakably in the wrong. They put themselves where the interests of labor, of the public, and the principle of common justice make them responsible for the results of the strike." On the other hand, the writer censures the men for breaking the Markle arbitration agreement.

PROFESSOR GUNTON ON TRUSTS.

In a paper on "Trusts and Monopolies," Professor Gunton reaches the following conclusions:

"First. That trusts, as distinct organizations, have ceased to exist; hence, the question is solely one of corporations.

"Second. That the public criticism is not against corporations *per se*, but against monopoly.

"Third. That monopoly is very much less than is generally supposed—indeed, very rarely exists.

"Fourth. That monopoly is not, necessarily, inimical to public welfare, but it is only dangerous when it rests on special privileges.

"Fifth. That, wherever actual or potential competition can operate, the benefits of invention and organization will be more equitably distributed through the community by the free action of economic forces than by state action.

"Sixth. That class of corporations which receive special privileges, in the form of charters and franchises which shield them from the influence of economic competition, may properly be subjected to some degree of state supervision."

OTHER ARTICLES.

Mr. N. D. Hanna writes on "Mansfield and Henry V.;" Mr. Alexander R. Smith on "Ship Subsidies and Boundaries;" and Mr. Hayes Robbins ventures a reply to President Hadley's *Atlantic Monthly* article, in which he declared himself opposed to so-called "political education" in colleges and universities.

THE ARENA.

A CONSIDERABLE part of the October *Arena* is devoted to the various issues of the present election. The first three articles deal with "The Menace of Imperialism." Ex-Chief-Judge Long, of New Mexico, treats imperialism as "The Antithesis of True Expansion," maintaining that in the Louisiana Purchase, as well as in all other acquisitions of new territory prior to the Spanish-American War, the main object of this Government was national security, "and with that the blessings of freedom and self-government to its inhabitants, present and future." He shows that in each instance, from 1803 to 1848, there was a treaty guaranty to the inhabitants of the ceded territory, former subjects of the ceding nations, and to those who might thereafter occupy these new possessions, that they were and should continue to be citizens of the United States and should have the right to be admitted into the Union as States on terms of perfect equality with the others of the republic. This is regarded by Judge Long as justifiable, beneficial, and necessary expansion. "This expansion is far different from the imperialism of the colonial theory, maintained by England and the European powers by force of arms, and advocated by some statesmen in this country in recent years."

Mr. Albert H. Coggins writes on the strength and

weakness of imperialism, while Mr. George W. Kenney discusses the place of imperialism in historic evolution. "Militarism or Manhood" is the subject of an article by Mr. Joseph Dana Miller, while the record of William Jennings Bryan as a soldier is appreciatively set forth by Mr. C. F. Beck.

A BOYCOTT OF THE TRUSTS.

Mr. A. G. Wall, recognizing the futility of anti-trust legislation, advocates a general boycott of the trusts by individual consumers. "If an article of whatever description is needed, make it an unvarying practice first to ascertain the producer; and if such producer is found to be a recognized trust or a corporation with trust tendencies, peremptorily refuse to purchase the same. If you are unable to find the desired article produced outside of a trust, then your duty is to look for a substitute, if it is something that cannot very well be dispensed with. Bring your children up in this. Never mind about your neighbor's politics, but call his attention to plain facts." Mr. Wall seems to indulge the hope that in this way trusts may finally be abolished.

PHILADELPHIA BALLOT CORRUPTION.

Mr. Clinton Rogers Woodruff makes an interesting exposure of Philadelphia election frauds, describing the excellent work of the Municipal League, which caused the flight from the country of the former deputy coroner and eight co-defendants under charges of ballot-box frauds. The league charged, and brought proof to substantiate its charge, that the assessor's lists had been padded, that men had been imported to fill the places of the names fraudulently on the lists, and that finally the ballot-box itself had been stuffed. As one result of the efforts of the league, warrants were issued in a certain division for a board for receiving illegal votes. In this division there were 146 illegal votes cast, and 217 voters were returned. "The judge and two inspectors are now fugitives, as also one of the repeaters: one of the latter, however, has already been indicted. In still another division, three of the officers have been bound over to answer a charge of misdemeanor—a canvass of the division showing 79 votes for one candidate who was given but 51, and but 30 votes for one credited with 60." The league proposes to make a full exposure of the system of repeating.

OTHER ARTICLES.

There are papers on "The Status of the Modern Hebrew,"—the secret of his immortality, his contributions to science, and his future—by Mr. Ezra S. Bradno and the Rev. A. Kingsley Glover; Mrs. Elaine Goodale Eastman writes on "The Education of the Indians;" Mr. E. A. Randall on "The Artistic Impulse in Man and Woman," and Mr. B. O. Flower on the Chartist uprising in England.

THE CONSERVATIVE REVIEW.

IN the *Conservative Review* for September (the current number) appears the second part of the interesting biography of Col. Richard Malcolm Johnston. In this paper is related Colonel Johnston's introduction to authorship through the publication in the *Southern Magazine*, of Baltimore, of several of his stories written while Colonel Johnston was a resident of Georgia and published in a Georgia newspaper. Of these stories, Colonel Johnston writes:

"It never occurred to me that they were of any sort

of value. Yet when a collection of them, nine in all, were printed by Mr. Turnbull, who about that time ended publication of his magazine, and when a copy of this collection fell into the hands of Mr. Henry M. Alden, of *Harper's Magazine*, whose acquaintance I had lately made, he expressed much surprise that I had not received any pecuniary compensation, and added that he would have readily accepted them if they had been offered to him. Several things he said about them that surprised and gratified me very much. I then set into the pursuit of that sort of work, and down to this time, besides my three novels, 'Old Mark Langston,' 'Widow Guthrie,' and 'Pearce Amerson's Will,' and other literary work in the way of lectures, juvenile articles, a 'History of English Literature,' and a 'Biography of Alexander H. Stephens' (the last two in collaboration with Dr. William Hand Browne, of Johns Hopkins University), I have written and printed about eighty of these stories."

THE CONFEDERATE CONGRESS.

Another important feature of this number of the *Conservative Review* is the Hon. John Goode's paper of recollections of the Confederate Congress, of which he was a member. It seems strange that so little attention has been paid to the civil history of the Confederacy. According to Mr. Goode's account, the proceedings in Congress at Richmond were enlivened by occurrences well worthy of record. The personnel was high and the debates frequently spirited and able. Mr. Goode comments on the failure of the Confederate Congress to establish a supreme court for the Confederate States, as provided by their constitution. He does not agree with those who believe that the differences of opinion on the question of State rights operated to prevent the creation of such a court. "The men who composed the Confederate Congress were, as a general rule, the same men who had framed the provisional and permanent constitutions." There could be no question that it was the intention of the framers to provide for the establishment of a supreme court. In 1863 the Senate actually passed a bill to organize a supreme court, to consist of a chief justice and four associate justices, any three of whom should constitute a quorum. This bill failed of passage in the House of Representatives. Mr. Goode's explanation of the failure is that the military situation at that time demanded all the time and attention of the members of the House. "The city of Richmond, the capital of the Confederacy, was besieged on all sides by large armies. Every afternoon the balloons of the enemy could be seen hovering over the city, and it frequently happened that the flash of guns could be seen in every direction. There was no time to deliberate about the organization of courts, and the House naturally postponed the consideration of that subject until it was determined by the arbitrament of war whether or not the Confederacy should be established as an independent government."

OTHER ARTICLES.

Mr. Philip Alexander Robinson writes on "Economic Consolidation and Monopoly;" Mr. William Baird on "Imperialism," and Dr. Edward Farquhar on "Elements of Unity in the Homeric Poems." "Recollections of a Naval Life," by John McIntosh Kell, the executive officer of the *Sumter* and the *Alabama*, is appreciatively reviewed by J. R. Eggleston, a former lieutenant of the United States Navy and of the Confederate Navy.

THE CONTEMPORARY REVIEW.

THE *Contemporary Review* for October contains several articles that call for special notice. We have dealt elsewhere with Mr. J. B. Robinson's suggestions for the South African settlement, with Mr. L. Orman Cooper's description of the Beira Railway, and with Mr. J. A. Hobson's "Proconsulate of Milner."

RUSSIAN POLICY.

"A Russian Publicist" contributes a short and not very enlightening article on "The Secret Springs of Russian Policy." The article is really an attack on Russian policy rather than an explanation of it. The author declares that Russia is not herself in a fit condition to take the part of civilizing the Orient, and that she ought rather to devote herself to internal reforms.

THE PREVENTION OF DISEASE.

Mr. Arthur Shadwell writes on "The True Aim of Preventive Medicine," the object of his article being to advocate the cultivation of natural immunity or resistance to disease. As the restoration of the tissues to health is the best way to counteract disease, so keeping them in a healthy condition enables men to resist infection. Mr. Shadwell's theory is that in time of epidemics those people who suffer from minor illnesses which are not classed as actual cases have in reality been attacked by the same deadly disease as the admitted victims of the epidemic, but have been enabled to resist its development owing to their having more healthy organisms. He recommends that bacteriologists should turn from their present methods of research to the study of this question of natural resistance.

COUNT WALDERSEE IN 1870.

Colonel Lonsdale Hale describes the part taken by Count von Waldersee in 1870. It was the count's success in that year which gained him the position of chief of the staff in the German army. Waldersee's duty in 1870 was to report to the King of Prussia, as supreme head of the army, the course and progress of the campaign in one of the theaters of the war. After the battle of Sedan, the general opinion among the Germans was that the war was over; but the king knew better, and sent the count to the Army of the Loire to warn Prince Frederick Charles, and report to him daily until recalled. Waldersee acquitted himself with success, and gained the approval both of the king and of Von Moltke, while at the same time keeping on good terms with the crown prince.

OTHER ARTICLES.

Mr. R. Warwick Bond writes on "Ruskin, the Servant of Art." Prof. Marcus Hartog, in an article entitled "The Interpolation of Memory," describes an experiment in the education of children.

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

OF the articles in the *Nineteenth Century* for October, we have noticed several among "Leading Articles."

NIETZSCHE.

Mr. Oswald Crawfurd contributes an appreciation of Frederick Nietzsche, the key to much of whose writings he finds in the fact that Nietzsche was not a German,

but a Slav. Much of Nietzsche's influence was due to the fact that he possessed a style and a clarity rare among German philosophers:

"Like Schopenhauer, Nietzsche arrived at his mastery in the art of expressing by refusing to consider language as a mere scientific exponent of thought, but rather as an artistic instrument through which, as through a violin or an organ, the hearts as well as the understandings of others could be reached. This is not always the Teutonic method of writing; it is not always the English method: but of course it is the best and the highest method. Such a style Nietzsche seems to have possessed; and this style, together with his strange magnetic personality, has helped to spread his views and tenets in the world of thoughtful men. Whether, as a seer, his work will live on and grow and develop as a true seer's work deserves to do by the handling of adequate disciples is doubtful; for, unfortunately, his reputation is for the moment in the mouths mainly of fanatics who confound his later visions and obscurities with the keen insight, the wide outlook, the large, clear utterance of his early years."

THE DUTCH AT WATERLOO.

Mr. C. Oman takes Sir Herbert Maxwell to task for his defense of the part played by the Netherlands regiments at Waterloo. He maintains that the statistics of killed among the Dutch and Belgian soldiers in that battle were really made up by the addition of the runaways, who formed the greater part. Mr. Oman does not, however, make any reflection on the courage of the defaulting regiments. The real cause of the misbehavior of the Dutch and Belgians was that the rank and file were disaffected, most of them having served under Napoleon himself, and being favorable to his cause.

OTHER ARTICLES.

Other articles are that of Mrs. Henry Birchenough, "Wanted—A New War Poet," in which she is very severe on Mr. Kipling's latest indiscretions, and that of Mr. W. H. Witt describing "Five New Pictures in the National Gallery."

THE FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW.

THE *Fortnightly Review* for October is a good number. We have noticed elsewhere several of the more important and timely articles.

THE CHAPERON VANISHED.

Lady Jeune contributes an amusing paper on "The Decay of the Chaperon." The emancipation of girls in England has resulted in the relegation of the chaperon to the things of the past. But not forever, Lady Jeune thinks:

"Let us cherish our belief, however, that the de-thronement of the chaperon is only temporary, and not a visible and outward sign of her decay. We may be wrong, and possibly future generations will take their children to the British Museum to pay her effigy a visit, pointing her out as at one time an important character in English social life. But, on the other hand, it may be that this age of freedom is on the verge of a reaction, which will restore her to her pristine glory, with fuller powers, just as the fashions of past years return, and assert themselves with renewed vigor and tyranny."

GERMANY AND AMERICA AS BRITAIN'S INDUSTRIAL RIVALS.

Writing on the struggle for industrial supremacy, Mr. Benjamin Taylor agrees with Count Goluchowski that the industrial menace to England comes from America, not from Germany :

"A careful consideration of the commercial and financial position of Germany leads to this conclusion, that while the economic development has been natural and inevitable, the industrial expansion has been too rapid. Like a youth growing too quickly, the country has overshot its strength. If the pace of development is not abated, there will come soon a period of exhaustion and collapse. There will come also a rise in the level of wages and of the standard of living—both now lower than our own—not to be reached, probably, without some of the *Sturm und Drang* of industrial warfare through which Great Britain herself has passed. We are inclined to believe, therefore, that German competition with us in the world's markets has reached its high-water mark."

"On the other hand, the real strength of the industrial competition of America has yet to be felt. The measure designed to revive the American mercantile marine did not pass through last Congress; but some measure of the sort will certainly become law within the next four years, if the Republicans are confirmed in power. Even now American manufacturers are sending shipbuilding material to this country, not at a sacrifice and merely to lighten their stocks, but at remunerative prices. America has obtained and will retain the lead as the greatest iron and steel producer in the world. And as such she is compelled both to increase her home market by shipbuilding and to obtain foreign markets. As for American coal, it has certainly come to stay in Europe, though it may cease to come to Great Britain when our own inflated industry is restored to a normal condition. It is not necessary, however, for American coal to come into our ports in order to make a serious inroad upon our foreign trade."

OTHER ARTICLES.

"The Kingdom of Matter" is the title of a very abstract article by Maeterlinck, which is translated by Mr. Alfred Sutro. Mr. George Gissing concludes his series of papers "By the Ionian Sea."

THE NATIONAL REVIEW.

THE *National Review* for October does not contain any article of exceptional interest.

A writer who has signed himself "An English Catholic" takes on himself the task to warn the British public against the intrigues of the Roman Catholic hierarchy in Australia; their object being, he declares, to found an independent Irish-Australian state. One of their chief weapons, he says, is the effort to form a distinct caste of Irish Australians. According to the writer, these Irish-Australian intriguers make use of the press much in the same way as the Rhodesians use the press of South Africa.

VATICAN AND QUIRINAL.

"Vatican and Quirinal" is the title of an article in which Mr. Richard Bagot draws a distinction between the policy of the Vatican and the upper clergy of Italy

and that of the rest of the church. Mr. Bagot holds that the real responsibility for the quarrel between church and state in Italy is restricted to the curia, the great mass of the clergy holding by no means inimical sentiments to the cause of the state.

"There is one thing, and one thing only, which the Vatican dreads; and that is, a reconciliation between church and state in Italy. Events of very recent occurrence have demonstrated this. The momentary *rapprochement* of the Quirinal and the church over the dead body of the late king was sufficient to arouse the fears of the Ultramontane party that a passing impulse of humanity might be taken to signify that the Italian clergy were patriotic Italians as well as priests of the Church of Rome, and that the Vatican approved of their being so."

THE INVESTOR'S OPPORTUNITY.

In an article entitled "The Investor's Opportunity," Mr. W. R. Lawson deals with the decline in "gilt-edged" securities since 1896. Mr. Lawson takes British consols and sixteen other chief securities, every one of which has fallen since 1896—the average drop being 14.1 per cent. Consols have fallen 15½, and India 3 per cent. The average depreciation has been 3½ per cent. per annum. Mr. Lawson holds that all these securities will soon be on the rise again, and that as a consequence the investor at present prices will realize a large profit.

THE MONTHLY REVIEW.

A POSITIVE luxury to read—that will probably be the verdict of most readers of the new monthly published by John Murray, and edited by Mr. Henry Newbolt. The eye, too often wearied by traversing acres of poor print, finds a genuine pleasure in following the wide-spaced lines and large, clear type of the new periodical. The mind is thus prepossessed in favor of the contents, even before it has seriously reflected on them. The matter is intended to be varied enough. In the words of the prospectus : "Religion, ethics, literature, art, science, and history; international relations, colonies, empires, navies and armies; politics, social questions, hobbies, pastimes and amusements,—all these the *Monthly Review*, like others, will survey, discuss, and criticise."

It will give prominence to its unsigned editorial articles, which number in the first issue three as against eleven signed articles by non-editorial contributors. It disclaims the formulation of a party policy, but does not disguise a lively sympathy with the fortunes and principles of British Liberalism.

THE TWO SORTS OF IMPERIALISM.

The first article is entitled "The Paradox of Imperialism." The editor is concerned about the anti-imperialist attitude of many British Liberals. Imperialism is taken by them to denote restriction of liberty, militarism, centralization. These elements were certainly present in imperial Rome. But there was present also "the thoroughly Roman idea of universal denationalization," of freedom of intercourse, of the brotherhood of peoples. These he distinguishes as the "political" and the "organic" sides of imperialism. Medieval Germany developed the organic, France and Spain the political. In modern Russia "the political

stream has submerged everything else." In the British empire "the organic conception has taken as absolute possession." The editor finds the explanation of what he calls the paradoxical attitude of many Liberals in their confusing the organic with the political evolution. In their hatred of the Roman, French, Spanish, Russian imperialism, which is essentially anti-Liberal, they denounce the imperialism which is Roman, German, British, and as essentially Liberal. "The duality of the idea which underlay the Roman empire is the whole root of the matter." The immediate application of this analysis is that it was the Liberalism of England's colonies that made them eager to suppress "a nationality where liberty had grown corrupt." Liberals have only defended small nationalities that were Liberal. "Where true liberty and enlightenment have been with the aggressor, Liberalism has always been on the side of aggression." The editor concludes: "Liberalism has set its seal on the empire, and the mark is indelible; it has established, and must uphold, a democratic, autonomous commonwealth."

Having thus made clear his imperial policy, the editor passes to foreign affairs, and discusses the situation in the far East—"After Peking." He then treats of the continuity of party principles in home affairs. Both these articles are quoted by us elsewhere, as also the Afghan Amir's "Details in My Daily Life."

WHAT A SURGEON SAW IN SOUTH AFRICA.

Mr. G. A. Bowlby's "Surgical Experiences in South Africa" are full of interesting facts. He says that men wounded in victories were mostly keen to fight again, but men wounded in defeats were noticeably less keen. He pronounces the physique of the men as a whole very good, and ridicules the talk about "feeble, undersized lads who compose our army." He testifies to the fortitude and absence of grumbling which were displayed almost universally. He attributes the prevalence of enteric at Bloemfontein to the defective water-supply. He thinks it likely that the plague of flies which befell

them conveyed the contagion, "for they were always thick on the lips and faces of the worst cases of typhoid." The orderlies, whom he praises very highly, "were all St. John's Ambulance men, and had had no previous experience of hospitals or sick people." He mentions some remarkable recoveries from wounds. "It is quite certain that some men did recover who were shot through the brain." He closes by remarking on the smallness of the British Army Medical Corps—only 800 for the whole empire outside of India, and 200 of these were wanting. The service is unpopular, he says, both pay and position not being high enough.

POETIC TRIBUTE TO GORDON.

Mr. Henry Newbolt contributes "an ode" on "the Nile," for the inauguration of the Gordon College at Khartum. Of this characterization of the hero, these lines touch the core :

"For this man was not great
By gold or kingly state,
Or the bright sword, or knowledge of earth's wonder;
But more than all his race
He saw life face to face
And heard the still small voice above the thunder."

OTHER ARTICLES.

Art is represented in 26 pages by Mr. Roger E. Fry, on "Art Before Giotto," illustrated by many fine pictures. Astronomy has its place in Professor Turner's account of recent eclipses, and the light they have cast on the inner and outer corona of the sun. The drama is not forgotten. Mrs. Hugh Bell urges that the influence of the stage ought to be morally upward, and expresses her detestation of "The Belle of New York," but laments what she considers the ill-advised and ill-informed censures of Mr. Samuel Smith in Parliament.

The impression left by the new monthly compels a hearty welcome. The New York publishers are Messrs. Doubleday, Page & Co., and the price in the United States is 60 cents a number.

THE CONTINENTAL REVIEWS.

REVUE DES DEUX MONDES.

THE editor of the *Revue des Deux Mondes* himself writes a paper for the first September number on the reform of French syntax, which should be interesting to schoolmasters and schoolmistresses. On July 13, 1900, a ministerial decree was issued to the effect that in future people were not to say in French *les folles amours*, but *les fous amours*, and that they might please themselves as between *le Dieu des bonnes gens* and *le Dieu des gens bonnes*. The object of this and other reforms is apparently to make French easier to foreigners, but M. Brunetière pleads for a little reciprocity. Let the English, he says, begin by making their spelling agree with their pronunciation, or, better still, their pronunciation with their spelling.

EUROPEAN LITERATURE.

M. Brunetière is industrious, for he has another article in the second September number—one on the somewhat large subject of European literature, which he is well advised in treating as a province of the still larger subject of comparative literature. The paper is an excellent example of the best and sanest French criticism,

bearing the impress of a culture which is both wide and deep. M. Brunetière lays stress on the national element in all great writers. For example, in tracing the descent of Richardson's "Pamela" from the "Marie-Ane" of Marivaux, we find that the modifications introduced by the later writer illustrate the differences of national psychology.

OTHER ARTICLES.

Among other articles may be mentioned an anonymous account of the French naval maneuvers; a study of the famous priest, Father Gratry, by M. Bellalaine; an anonymous letter from Rome, which describes the political situation in Italy following upon the assassination of King Humbert; and an article on the racial conflicts between Greeks and Bulgarians in the tenth century.

REVUE DE PARIS.

THE September numbers of the *Revue de Paris* are excellent, and fully maintain the revived reputation of this review, which may be described as a somewhat less solemn *Revue des Deux Mondes*.

CHINA.

The place of honor in the first September number is given to an anonymous article on the dealings of Europe with China. It is for the most part a brightly written summary of events now perfectly familiar, in which due prominence is given to the very natural grounds for alarm which the action of the powers had given to Chinese opinion. The writer then goes on to ask what Europe will do now that she is in Peking, and he answers his own question by asserting that she will do what France advises. She is in a good position for giving advice, we are told, inasmuch as she is herself practically disinterested, is on particularly good terms with Russia, America, and Japan, and has identical interests with Germany. Great Britain, it will be noticed, is ignored. We are reminded of M. Delcassé's speech at Foix, in which he laid it down that the presence of the allies in Peking will serve to obtain reparation for the past and guarantees for the future—a declaration that was closely followed by the Russian proposal of withdrawal. Finally, the writer asks whether Europe has learned the real lesson of recent events. Nothing can exceed the blindness—to use no harsher term—with which Europeans have outraged the habits, customs, and most cherished beliefs of the Chinese, and then stood thunderstruck before the inevitable catastrophe. The writer says, truly enough, that it is the egotism which prevails on both sides that has caused the danger. Europeans in China are so busily engaged in watching one another out of the tail of their eyes in the great game of concession-hunting that they have no time to study the Chinese themselves.

ENGLISH OPINION AND THE BOER WAR.

M. Chevillon continues his extremely interesting study of English opinion on the Boer war. It is a merciless yet perfectly fair exposure of the bland limitations, the pride, the complete inability to conceive any point of view other than the purely selfish one, the astonishing pressing even of Christianity itself into the service of imperial expansion, which M. Chevillon encountered in the course of his visit to England. Yet he recognizes the somewhat humbler spirit which breathes throughout such writings as Kipling's "Recessional." He thinks that England will come out of the war more strongly confirmed than ever in her own special delusions.

OTHER ARTICLES.

Among other articles may be mentioned a continuation of M. de Rousiers's study of German commercial prosperity, and a curious collection of oral traditions about Waterloo, gathered from the inhabitants in and near the great battlefield.

NOUVELLE REVUE.

ME. Adam's name is again absent from among the contributors of the rejuvenated *Nouvelle Revue*, and politics is scarcely touched upon, save indirectly in Captain Gilbert's able analysis of the South African campaign. Although the writer is in undisguised sympathy with the Boers, he is rigorously impartial, and avoids the vexed white-flag and loot controversies. In fact, his careful account of the campaign is so highly technical that it can only be recommended to those already knowing something of the science of war. He has not yet reached, in his history, the first marked British successes; accordingly, it would appear that these articles will continue to appear throughout the winter.

EARLY LETTERS OF POPE LEO.

In the second September number of the *Revue*, the place of honor is given to a number of letters written by the present Pope, in the days when he was only Monsignor Pecci, Papal Nuncio at Brussels. In the second of these (written in 1843) he describes a visit paid by him to the field of Waterloo, where he bought some relics of the battle to send home to his mother. In these home letters the future Pope goes into many little intimate details as to the cost of living in Belgium. He describes Queen Victoria, then paying her first visit to the Continent, as "small in stature," with a bright expression, and, though not plain, scarcely pretty. These letters, which throw a vivid light on the general character of the writer, are interesting as showing that Leo XIII. must be, above all, a man of shrewd wit and common sense, gifted with a strong sense of family affection.

RUSSIAN TRADE PROSPERITY.

A eulogistic article on the Russian exhibits at the great exposition gives some curious details concerning Russian trade. In 1867 the great empire was scarcely represented, but thirty years have wrought a vast change; and if Russia continues to make commercial progress at the same rate, we may live to hear "Made in Russia" substituted for "Made in Germany." To quote some figures in support of this allegation is easy. In 1867 there were 179 timber-yards, resulting in a total profit of 3,000,000 roubles; now 1,200 yards bring in 70,000,000 roubles. Thirty years ago the paper-mills of Russia were 150 in number, producing paper to the value of 5,000,000 roubles; now 201 factories bring in 34,000,000. The same increase is to be found in the chemical trade. Naphtha has always been a source of great profit to Russia, but whereas in 1867 the naphtha-springs brought their owners 30,000 roubles each year, the 247 companies now dealing with this natural product earn a yearly income of 36,000,000 roubles!



THE NEW BOOKS.

RECENT AMERICAN PUBLICATIONS.

BIOGRAPHY.

Paul Jones : Founder of the American Navy. By Augustus C. Buell. 2 vols., 12mo, pp. xv, 328-373. New York : Charles Scribner's Sons. \$3.

If we were to seek the reason why so little has been done to commemorate the achievements of Paul Jones, the founder of the American navy, we should probably find it in the fact that Jones lived but a short period in the United States, and died in a foreign land. Nevertheless, so great was his fame as our first great sea-warrior that his memory has remained fresh for the 108 years that have elapsed since his death and burial in Paris. Of the many biographical sketches of Jones, none of any length has been written in the past half-century until the present year. The two volumes by Mr. Buell will meet the needs of all students of our naval history who wish as complete an account as possible of the public and private career of our first great naval hero. Mr. Buell is peculiarly qualified for the task of preparing such a biography, in that he possesses a technical knowledge of seamanship, which enables him to appreciate the peculiar qualities which contributed to Jones' success on the sea, and without which the naval victories of the Revolution could not have been won. Mr. Buell has made a far more strenuous effort than any of the earlier biographers of Paul Jones to acquire data from the writings of contemporaries. To this end he has obtained material from France, Scotland, and Russia, now utilized for the first time.

Commodore Paul Jones. By Cyrus Townsend Brady. 12mo, pp. xv, 480. New York : D. Appleton & Co. \$1.50.

Simultaneously with the appearance of Mr. A. C. Buell's two-volume life of Paul Jones, the Appletons have issued in their "Great Commanders" series a single-volume biography by the Rev. Cyrus Townsend Brady, the author of "Stephen Decatur," and other works relating to our naval history. Mr. Brady's book, like the more ambitious work by Buell, is based on original sources. Mr. Brady has adopted a more popular method of treatment and addresses himself to the general reader rather than to the technical naval expert. His book is distinguished by the qualities of style that have combined to make his writings so successful in the field of history and historical fiction.

Oliver Cromwell. By Theodore Roosevelt. 8vo, pp. 260. New York : Charles Scribner's Sons. \$2.

Governor Roosevelt's study of Oliver Cromwell would be interesting, if for no other reason than its distinctively American point of view. It is natural that Mr. Roosevelt should compare Cromwell with Washington, and that he should apply to Cromwell's statesmanship the searching tests that he has learned to apply in his researches in the lives of American statesmen. While he regards Cromwell as one of the greatest military geniuses of all time, he is by no means blind to his hero's deficiencies and failures in civic life; nor does he attempt to gloss over the excesses, to use no severer term, which blotted Cromwell's career in Ireland. The book, as a whole, is a frank and appreciative account of the great Protector and his time. It is beautifully printed and illustrated.

Theodore Parker : Preacher and Reformer. By John White Chadwick. 12mo, pp. xx, 422. Boston : Houghton, Mifflin & Co. \$2.

Dr. Chadwick's endeavor in this volume has been, as he puts it, "to make Parker a reality for a generation of read-

ers born since he died, to many of whom he is little known or misknown, which is worse." It may surprise some of this younger generation of readers to find less than half of the volume given up to Parker's antislavery work. His biographer has not permitted Parker's prominence in the antislavery movement to overshadow his achievements as a religious leader. Parker was, indeed, a preacher before he was a reformer; and as Dr. Chadwick points out, he had, even in his later years, little sympathy with professional reformers, although his pulpit-platform agitation in Boston was of the greatest importance to the antislavery cause, and he was interested not only in the slavery question, but in the peace movement, the temperance movement, education, the condition of woman, penal legislation, prison discipline, and all the other great reformatory movements of his time.

James Martineau : A Biography and Study. By A. W. Jackson. 8vo, pp. 459. Boston : Little, Brown & Co. \$3.

The first complete biography of Dr. Martineau to appear since his death is of American origin. Dr. Martineau's life spanned all but the first five years of the nineteenth century. The period of his intellectual and literary activity was remarkably long, probably unequaled by that of any of his contemporaries. While Dr. Martineau was recognized as the greatest Unitarian preacher of his time, his contributions to theology and religious thought were in no sense sectarian. His life and teachings appeal to men of every denomination. Mr. Jackson has written his book in three grand divisions: the first dealing with Martineau "The Man;" the second with "The Religious Teacher," and the last with "The Philosopher of Religion." The biographical element of the book is somewhat subordinated to the critical and philosophical.

A Life of Francis Parkman. By Charles Haight Farnham. 8vo, pp. xv, 394. Boston : Little, Brown & Co. \$2.50.

This life of Francis Parkman, the historian, is hardly to be regarded as a biography in the ordinary sense, so little does it contain of personal details relating to its subject. Owing to an aversion which seems to have sprung from his lifelong physical ailments, Parkman was apparently determined to leave as little as possible in the way of materials that might be utilized by a biographer. Throughout his life he said and wrote little about himself. Mr. Farnham has been obliged to seek interpretations of Parkman's personality in his writings; so that his study, beginning as a biography, soon merges into a critical essay. For this the author is not to be censured; he has performed his task as well as any one could have done, and probably better than almost any one else, because of his personal acquaintance with the subject. Among the most interesting passages in the book are quotations from Parkman's journal of his student days, giving accounts of tramps in the New England mountains. Parkman's early adventures in the far West (the basis of "The Oregon Trail") also make entertaining reading.

Richelieu, and the Growth of French Power. By James Breck Perkins. 12mo, pp. 359. New York : G. P. Putnam's Sons. \$1.50.

Mr. James B. Perkins, the scholarly member of the New York Legislature whose works on "France Under Mazarin," "France Under the Regency," and "France Under Louis XV." have attracted the well-deserved notice of historical scholars everywhere, has just completed an

interesting account of "Richelieu, and the Growth of French Power." Recognizing the extreme difficulty of finding anything of great importance bearing upon Richelieu's career still unpublished, Mr. Perkins has endeavored, by careful comparison of Richelieu's memoirs and letters and other documents, to compile an accurate statement of the main facts of his career. He has also made a study of the numerous contemporary memoirs, giving special attention to the exhaustive work of M. Hanotaux, which is not yet completed. This volume forms one in the "Heroes of the Nations" series, and is copiously illustrated with portraits, maps, and facsimiles.

Memoirs of the Countess Potocka. Edited by Casimir Stryienski. Translation by Lionel Strachey. 8vo, pp. xxiii, 253. New York : Doubleday & McClure Company. \$3.50.

An addition to the already long list of published Napoleonic memoirs is furnished in the volume of "Memoirs of the Countess Potocka," edited by Casimir Stryienski, and translated into English by Lionel Strachey. The countess was a member of the Polish royal family, and gives reminiscences of Napoleon and of many other historical characters. The illustrations comprise portraits, views, and facsimiles.

The Private Memoirs of Madame Roland. Edited, with an Introduction, by Edward Gilpin Johnson. 12mo, pp. 381. Chicago : A. C. McClurg & Co. \$1.50.

This favorite French classic, although translated into English and published in London as long ago as 1795, within two years after Madame Roland's death by the guillotine, has been for some years out of print. The introduction by the editor, Mr. Edward Gilpin Johnson, helps the reader to understand the historical circumstances under which these famous memoirs were written.

HISTORY.

A Century of American Diplomacy ; being a Brief Review of the Foreign Relations of the United States, 1776-1876. By John W. Foster. 8vo, pp. 497. Boston : Houghton, Mifflin & Co. \$3.50.

The Hon. John W. Foster, who was Secretary of State in President Harrison's cabinet, has for many years made a special study of the foreign relations of the United States. Few writers are so well qualified as he to trace the history of those relations. The present work is the outgrowth of a series of lectures delivered in the School of Diplomacy of the Columbian University at Washington. In the preparation of this volume for the press, the author has been influenced, first, by a hope that the study of this review of the diplomatic conduct of American statesmen may quicken the patriotism of the young men of the country and inspire them with a new zeal to assist in maintaining the honorable position of our government in its foreign relations, and also by the belief that such a review would be specially opportune at this time, in view of the recently enlarged political and commercial intercourse of the United States with other powers. Mr. Foster has carried his review down to the year 1876, and in the case of the Monroe Doctrine has brought the account practically up to date.

Source-Book of English History. By Guy Carleton Lee. 12mo, pp. 609. New York : Henry Holt & Co. \$2.

In this compilation, Dr. Lee has included illustrative material not strictly documentary, together with the great constitutional and legal documents which furnished the framework of the history of England's national development. The scope of this collection extends from the first mention of Britain by the ancient historians to the last British treaty with the Boers of South Africa. The book will form a useful accompaniment of any text-book on English history.

The Venetian Republic : Its Rise, Its Growth, and Its Fall. By W. Carew Hazlitt. 2 vols., 8vo, pp. 814-815. New York : The Macmillan Company. \$12.

This elaborate history of the Venetian Republic, the most complete in the English language, is now published in its entirety for the first time. It contains the results of forty years of research. The first edition (1860) has for some time been out of print, and the writer has to a great extent rewritten the text and has brought down the career of the republic to its abrupt close in 1797. Both volumes abound in footnote references, which will be highly appreciated by historical students.

The Boers in War. By Howard C. Hillegas. 12mo, pp. 300. New York : D. Appleton & Co. \$1.50.

The Boer side of the war of 1899-1900 is clearly pictured by Mr. Hillegas in this volume. Parts of the picture, it is true, will shock and possibly offend those intense partisans of the Boers who can see no fault in them; but on the whole it is far more likely that Mr. Hillegas will give offense to the pro-British reader than to the pro-Boer. He has tried to show the Boer army, country, and people as they existed prior to the British occupation of Pretoria. He has made an earnest effort to eliminate all personal feeling, and to portray the failings of the Boers as truthfully as their good qualities. He repeatedly refers to the Boer army as at no time consisting of more than 30,000 armed men, and claims ample authority for this statement. Mr. Hillegas looks forward to an ultimate Afrikander union under a South African flag.

The Monitor and the Navy Under Steam. By Frank M. Bennett. 12mo, pp. 369. Boston : Houghton, Mifflin & Co. \$1.50.

In this volume, Lieutenant Bennett has attempted a history of the origin, career, and influence of the United States ironclad steamer *Monitor*, including in the record an account of the causes that produced the *Monitor*, as a sort of midway type of vessel in the gradual transformation of wooden ships of war to the steel-armored battleship, and also some reference to the effects on American naval development as shown in the naval operations of the Spanish-American War. The work is fully illustrated, and meets the requirements of the technical student as well as the seeker after general knowledge.

Old Landmarks and Historic Personages of Boston. By Samuel Adams Drake. 8vo, pp. 484. Boston : Little, Brown & Co. \$2.50.

A careful and thorough revision of Mr. Drake's "Old Landmarks and Historic Personages of Boston," first published nearly thirty years ago, has now been made, and the work is brought out by Messrs. Little, Brown & Co., the publishers who so successfully revised the same author's "Historic Mansions and Highways Around Boston" last year. The "Old Landmarks" has always been Mr. Drake's most popular work on American history, and it well deserves its popularity. Few American cities have had done for them what Mr. Drake has done for Boston in exploring historical sites and verifying local traditions.

TRAVEL AND DESCRIPTION.

Through the First Antarctic Night, 1898-99. By Frederick A. Cook. 8vo, pp. 502. New York : Doubleday & McClure Company. \$5.

Dr. Cook's volume is chiefly interesting as the first record of human experience in the Antarctic night. It is not merely the story of a fruitless chase after the South Pole. The aim of the Belgian expedition of 1898-99 was one of scientific exploration, and in this the expedition was reasonably successful. Dr. Cook has not told the whole story in this volume, but has selected from his diary and notes important and interesting data, omitting much of the daily routine of life. He has also refrained from a discussion of technical

topics. The scientific records will be published in full by the Belgian Government. The illustrations of this volume have a special interest, being the first photographic reproductions of Antarctic life and scenes, while the color-plates give examples of the daily touches of color characteristic of the regions visited. One of the chapters describes a race of Fuegian giants, while others relate discoveries in the new world of Antarctic ice, and describe the autumn and the days of twilight preceding the long night.

Along French Byways. By Clifton Johnson. 12mo, pp. 261. New York : The Macmillan Company. \$2.25.

Even if the paths followed by Mr. Johnson in procuring material for this volume were not always "byways" in the ordinary sense of the word, Mr. Johnson at least chose to regard them as such; for he has written "a book of strolling, a book of nature, a book of amiable peasant life." Mr. Johnson has avoided the large towns and has sought the rural villages, farm homes, fields, and country lanes. This writer's exceptional skill in adapting photographic art to the demands of bookmaking has been noted in our comment on his earlier publications.

Constantinople. By Edwin A. Grosvenor. 2 vols., 8vo, pp. 413-398. Boston : Little, Brown & Co. \$4.

In view of the impending changes in the city of Constantinople, and the probable disappearance of much of its ancient architecture, the descriptive volumes of Professor Grosvenor are especially welcome. It is this writer's ambition "to preserve the careful panorama of the capital as it was in the last year of the nineteenth century." In this revised edition of a work published five years ago, few variations have been made from the original, and the work is substantially the same as when first published, the most important change being the material reduction in price.

Through the Yukon Gold Diggings. By Josiah Edward Spurr. 12mo, pp. 276. Boston : Eastern Publishing Company. \$1.25.

It was during Mr. Spurr's travels as geologist of the United States Geological Survey, investigating the geology of the Yukon district, that the Klondike gold discovery was made. He is, therefore, fairly entitled to be regarded as a Yukon pioneer, and his observations on the geology of the region are certainly authoritative.

POLITICS AND ECONOMICS.

Newest England. By Henry Demarest Lloyd. 8vo, pp. 387. New York : Doubleday, Page & Co. \$2.50.

Mr. Henry Demarest Lloyd, whose "Country Without Strikes" has already been noticed in these pages, gives us in "Newest England" a fuller statement of the results of his investigations in New Zealand and Australia into the newer developments of democratic government in those British colonies. As a contribution to the study of modern democracy, Mr. Lloyd's book at once suggests Mr. Bryce's "American Commonwealth." Looking upon New Zealand as an "experiment station" in advanced legislation, Mr. Lloyd has watched the practical operation of various recent reforms introduced in that country. In the closing paragraph of the book, Mr. Lloyd sums up the real purpose of his writing: "In New Zealand the best stock of civilization (ours) was isolated by destiny for the culture of reform as the bacteriologist isolates his culture of germs. New Zealand has discovered the anti-toxin of revolution—the cure of monopoly by monopoly. New Zealand, because united, was able to lead; because she has led, others can follow."

Government in Switzerland. By John Martin Vincent. 12mo, pp. 370. New York : The Macmillan Company. \$1.25.

In the discussion of political reforms, perhaps no country is more frequently cited than the small mountain republic of Switzerland. Advocates of the initiative and referendum are continually referring to the experience of the Swiss

cantons. Dr. Vincent began his study of Swiss politics many years ago, and an essay by him published in the Johns Hopkins University series of political and historical treatises has long been a standard authority on this subject. Since the publication of that essay, many important changes have taken place in the Swiss Government; and in preparing the present volume Dr. Vincent has changed his order of treatment, and retained large portions of the other work, besides adding much new matter. It is certainly a credit to American historical scholarship that so thorough and able an account of Swiss institutions should be written and published on this side of the Atlantic.

The Strenuous Life. By Theodore Roosevelt. 12mo, pp. 225. New York : The Century Company. \$1.50.

The phrase with which Governor Roosevelt's name has of late been most frequently associated has been adopted as the title of his new volume of essays. These essays are typical of Governor Roosevelt's literary work, in that almost every one represents a distinct point of view. The introductory address, which gives its name to the book, was originally delivered as a speech before the Hamilton Club of Chicago on April 10, 1899. This is followed by "Expansion and Peace," "Latitude and Longitude Among Reformers," and "Fellow-feeling as a Political Factor." Among the other titles are "Military Preparedness and Unpreparedness," "Admiral Dewey," "Civic Helpfulness," and "The Eighth and Ninth Commandments in Politics." The direct, clear, and emphatic writing for which Governor Roosevelt has become noted is maintained through all these papers. There is something in each of them to interest every active and serious-minded American.

The Gospel of Wealth, and Other Timely Essays. By Andrew Carnegie. 8vo, pp. xxii, 305. New York : The Century Company. \$2.

From the biographical introduction to these essays—"How I Served My Apprenticeship"—to the final chapter, entitled "Imperial Federation," this latest volume of Mr. Carnegie's writings is full of interest. The topics treated bear direct relation to the fundamental problems of American life. "The Gospel of Wealth," "The Advantages of Poverty," "Popular Illusions About Trusts," and "An Employer's View of the Labor Question" are some of the subjects treated. The fact that Mr. Carnegie exemplifies his teaching on the subject of wealth by yearly setting apart millions of dollars for the founding and endowment of libraries and art galleries adds to the importance and interest of his deliverances on this subject. Mr. Carnegie also writes frankly on the problems of national expansion and our international relations.

Expansion, Under New World-Conditions. By Josiah Strong. 12mo, pp. 310. New York : The Baker & Taylor Company. \$1.

In this compact little volume Dr. Strong discusses such practical problems as the exhaustion of our arable public lands, our new manufacturing supremacy, foreign markets as a new necessity, the new China, the new isthmian canal, and the new Mediterranean as an Anglo-Saxon sea. The keynote of the book is struck in its concluding sentence: "It is time to dismiss the 'craven fear of being great,' to recognize the place in the world which God has given us, and to accept the responsibilities which it devolves upon us in behalf of Christian civilization."

Clearing-Houses : Their History, Methods, and Administration. 8vo, pp. 383. New York : D. Appleton & Co. \$2.50.

As vice-president of the Fourth National Bank of New York City, Mr. Cannon has intimate knowledge of the workings of the New York Clearing-house, and has collected material regarding the different institutions of that character throughout the world. The chapters on the more important clearing-houses written for this work have been submitted to those in charge of their administration for criticism.

SOCIAL PHILOSOPHY.

Essays, Letters, Miscellanies. By Count Lyof N. Tolstoi. 12mo, pp. 605. New York : Thomas Y. Crowell & Co. \$2.

This volume represents the latest views of Count Tolstoi on the vital questions of the day. Most of the essays have been for the first time translated for this publication, and the materials have been gathered from various sources, most of which are inaccessible to the American reader. A large number of the translations have been made by Mr. Aylmer Maude, who is a personal friend of Count Tolstoi, and is in touch with his religious, social, and industrial activities. Although the volume necessarily lacks unity, it is by no means wanting in consistency or vitality, and is especially interesting as representing the count's mental activity. Among the topics treated are arbitration, liquor-drinking, vegetarianism, non-resistance, disarmament, persecution of the Doukhobors, or spirit-wrestlers, and the suffering in the famine-stricken districts of Russia.

Tolstoi : A Man of Peace. By Alice B. Stockham. 16mo, pp. 140. Chicago : Alice B. Stockham & Co. \$1.

Dr. Stockham gives an entertaining account of her visit to Tolstoi's Russian home. In the same volume is included an essay by H. Havelock Ellis, on "Tolstoi : The New Spirit."

Prophets of the Nineteenth Century : Carlyle, Ruskin, Tolstoi. By May Alden Ward. 16mo, pp. 189. Boston : Little, Brown & Co. 75 cents.

The interesting treatment of these three philosophers was suggested to Mrs. May Alden Ward by the fact that Carlyle once said that John Ruskin was the only man in England who was carrying out his ideas; while Ruskin said, shortly before his death, that Tolstoi was the only man in the world who stood for the movement which he had tried to further. While Ruskin's relation with Carlyle was direct and organic, that with Tolstoi was less obvious, although Mrs. Ward says that it was none the less real, "since a spiritual sympathy through the contagion of ideas may furnish a bond of the most lasting kind." Three prophets of social reform these men assuredly were, and they had much in common. From this point of view, a discussion of their several philosophic systems is timely and pertinent.

Spencer and Spencerism. By Hector Macpherson. 12mo, pp. 241. New York : Doubleday, Page & Co. \$1.25.

Perhaps "Spencerism and Spencer" would be better suited as a title to describe the contents of this little book. The writer has essayed the presentation of Herbert Spencer's philosophy in a lucid and coherent form, suitable for the general reader. Doubtless it makes as close an approach to a personal biography as is possible during the lifetime of the subject. The writer's purpose has been strictly followed, but that purpose was not the making of a biography in the ordinary sense. Mr. Macpherson has had the advantage in his work of the active interest and co-operation of Mr. Spencer; and the book has a peculiar appropriateness, coming so soon after the anniversary of Mr. Spencer's eightieth birthday, and only a few months after the publication of the book marking the completion of the great system of synthetic philosophy on which Spencer's fame will rest.

LITERATURE AND CRITICISM.

English Literature. By Stopford A. Brooke. 16mo, pp. 358. New York : The Macmillan Company. \$1.

This little volume has had a rather remarkable history for a book of its class. It was first issued by Macmillan & Company in 1876, under the title of "Primer of Literature," and at once won the approbation of Matthew Arnold, who wrote a critical estimate of it, which was later published under the title, "A Guide to English Literature." In 1896, Mr. Brooke revised and in part rewrote his book, which then appeared under its present title. The additions continue the history of English literature through the period ending

with the deaths of Tennyson and Browning, and include a brief sketch of American literature.

A Book for All Readers. By Ainsworth Rand Spofford. 12mo, pp. 509. New York : G. P. Putnam's Sons. \$2.

Mr. Spofford has included in this volume not only many suggestions as to the choice and use of books, but several chapters of practical hints regarding their collection and preservation, together with much information as to the formation of public and private libraries and library management. All of these suggestions and directions to the reader are the result of many years of library experience, and certainly no one in this country is better fitted than Mr. Spofford to act as a guide for the average reader.

Counsel Upon the Reading of Books. 12mo, pp. 306. Boston : Houghton, Mifflin & Co. \$1.50.

A series of specific suggestions for readers in certain definite lines is offered in the six papers composing this volume, which are based upon lectures arranged by the American Society for the Extension of University teaching, and delivered in Philadelphia in the winter of 1898-99. The general preface on the subject of reading and books is contributed by Dr. Henry van Dyke. Prof. H. Morse Stephens contributes a chapter on history; Agnes Repplier on memoirs and biographies; President Hadley, of Yale, on sociology, economics, and politics; Prof. Brander Matthews on the study of fiction; Prof. Bliss Perry on poetry, and Mr. Hamilton Wright Mabie on essays and criticism.

Short-Story Writing. By Charles Raymond Barrett. 12mo, pp. 257. New York : The Baker & Taylor Company. \$1.

This is a practical text-book on the technique of the short story. It may surprise some of our readers to learn that a course on "The Art of the Short Story" has been conducted at the University of Chicago. Whether the subject has been treated at other universities, we do not know. The present volume seems to us to be an excellent introduction to such a course. The author attempts to put into definite form the principles observed by the masters of the short story in the practice of their art. He has made a careful study of the work of these masters, and informs us that he has also made a critical examination of several thousand short stories written by amateurs. The book can hardly fail to be of much practical assistance to the novice in short-story writing.

The World's Best Orations. Edited by David J. Brewer. 8vo. Vols. III.-VII., pp. 396, 402, 404, 406, 418. St. Louis : Ferd. P. Kaiser. Sold by subscription.

The range and scope of this collection are well illustrated in the seventh volume, in which French oratory is represented by Victor Hugo, M. Labori, Jean Baptiste, Henry Lacordaire, and Alphonse Lamartine, and German oratory by Hecker, Herman von Helmholtz, and Johann Gottfried von Herder; while Isocrates stands for classical oratory, Hildebert of Tours for that of the Middle Ages, Kossuth for Eastern Europe and its modern movement, and Tecumseh, Logan, Old Tassel, Weatherford, and Red Jacket for the American Indian. The same volume contains extracts from the works of many standard English and American orators, including Sir Robert Holborne, Charles Kingsley, Hugh Latimer, Robert Leighton, William Lenthal, Sir John Lubbock, Sir Joseph Jekyll and Lord Lyndhurst, Patrick Henry, Abraham Lincoln, Samuel Houston, George F. Hoar, Benjamin H. Hill, Andrew Jackson, Thomas Jefferson, Rutherford B. Hayes, Rufus King, Richard Henry Lee, Robert R. Livingston, and John Lansing. There is a great diversity in the length of the selections; the object of the collection being to give the great masterpieces of oratory complete, regardless of their length. Even the minor orators whose work possesses genuine historical importance are not excluded, but so much is given from their best orations as will fairly represent what they actually stood for in history, in religion, in science, in art, or in literature.

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 Connecticut River, Early Traffic on the, C. G. Burnham,
 NEng.
 Conscience, J. Hyde, NC.
 Constitution and the New Territories, J. K. Richards, ALR.
 Courses on Western Prairies, W. S. Harwood, O.
 Crane, Stephen, True Story of, R. W. Kauffman, Mod.
 Cranial Variation, Studies in, F. Russell, ANat, September.
 Cricket, Some Village, W. B. Thomas, Bad.
 Croker, Edward F., Fire Chief, C. M. McGovern, Home.
 Cromwell, Oliver—XII., J. Morley, Cent.
 Crookes, Sir William, C. Schmidt, RRP, September 15.
 Crucifixion and the War in the Creation, W. W. Peyton,
 Contem.
 Cuban Teachers at Harvard, R. Clapp, EdR; Fanny H.
 Gardiner, Mod.
 Cuba, Plea for the Annexation of, Forum.
 Cuba: Why She Should be Independent, C. W. Currier,
 Forum.
 Curiosities and Souvenirs, S. S. Moncrieff, Cham.
 Democracy and Empire, G. M. Adam, Mod.
 Diphtheria, Persistence of, San.
 Doctors' Diversions, F. Dolman, Str.
 Dog-Breaking, First Lessons in, H. B. Tallman, O.
 Dogs that Earn Their Living, C. J. Cornish, Corn.
 Dreams and What They Are Made of, H. G. Drummond, NC.
 Durham Cathedral, H. Pope, Cath.
 Eclipses, Recent, H. H. Turner, MonR.
 Education: see also Kindergarten.
 Academy, Problems Which Confront the, G. D. Pettee,
 A. L. Lane, J. C. MacKenzie, and A. C. Hart, Ed.
 College Entrance Requirements in English, F. N. Scott,
 EdR.
 Democracy and Education in England, W. G. Field, EdR.
 English in the German Reform School, O. Thiergen, School.
 Farm Education on the, Eleanor K. Howell, Chaut.
 Grammar, Modern Teaching of, S. E. Lang, EdR.
 High School Assistants, Work of, S. Thurber, Ed.
 Honor and Justice, Teaching of, E. S. Holden, Cos.
 Manual Training, J. Fitch, Can.
 Nature Lessons, J. E. Bradley, Ed.
 Old-Fashioned Doubts About New-Fashioned Education,
 L. B. R. Briggs, Atlant.
 Parent and Teacher, Agnes D. Cameron, Can.
 Paris Educational Congress, Amalie Hofer, Kind.
 Physical Examination of Students, A. Henry, Pear.
 Physical Geography in the High School, W. M. Davis,
 School.
 Political Education, President Hadley on, H. Robbins,
 Gunt.
 Porto Rico, Education in, V. S. Clark, Forum.
 Press, Public, and the Public School, E. L. Cowdrick, Ed.
 Principals' Reports on Teachers, F. L. Soldan, EdR.
 Public Schools, Influence of the State University on, R. H.
 Jesse, School.
 Ruskin's Educational Views, E. A. Knapp, Ed.
 Sanitary Condition of City Schoolhouses, Elizabeth M.
 Howe, EdR.
 Secondary Education—III., E. E. Brown, School.
 South, Small College in the, A. Sledd, MRN.
 Universities, People's, A. Rivaud, RPP, September.
 Transportation of Rural School Children, A. A. Upham,
 EdR.
 Egypt: Finding the First Dynasty Kings, H. D. Rawnsley,
 Atlant.
 Egyptian Civilization, Origin of, M. B. Chapman, MRN.
 Electric Cables for High Tensions, W. Maver, Jr., CasM.
 Electricity for Domestic Purposes, A. T. Stewart, Cham.
 Electric Motors, Gearing for, A. H. Gibbings, CasM.
 Electric Power in Great Britain, W. H. Booth, Eng.
 Electric Power, Transition to, A. D. Adams, CasM.
 Eleusinian Problem, Certain Aspects of the, C. J. Wood, OC.
 Eliot, Charles William, Address of, at Tremont Temple, G.
 McDermott, Cath.
 Empire, Mission of, E. D. Bell, West.
- England: see Great Britain.
 England: Ightham Mote, Kent, S. Baring-Gould, MA.
 England: The Salt Country, C. Edwardes, Cham.
 Eskimo, Central, Religious Beliefs of the, F. Boas, PopS.
 Ethics: Defective Theories of Moral Obligation, C. C. Dove,
 West.
 Evolution in New-Church Light—IV., G. Hawkes, NC.
 Evolution, Relation of Ethics to, A. W. Benn, IJE.
 Evolution, Science and Religion, Lamarck on, A. S. Pack-
 ard, Mon.
 Evolution, Stampede into, J. B. Thomas, Hom.
 Ezra, Historicity of, J. O. Boyd, PRR.
 Fénelon, François de la M., C. M. Stuart, Chaut.
 Fêtes, Open-Air, at Bryn Mawr, D. A. Willey, Home.
 Fiction, Bachelor in, P. Pollard, Bkman.
 Finland, Music of, A. E. Keeton, LeisH.
 Fire Department, New York, E. E. Croker, Home.
 Flowers of Fall, E. E. Rexford, Lipp.
 Football Twenty-five Years Ago, W. J. Henderson, O.
 Forestry for Beauty and Use, Cham.
 Forms, Esthetic, Principles of, A. Emch, Mon.
 France:
 Brittany Pagan Woman, A. de Croze, RRP, October 1.
 Democracy and the Army, J. Charmont, RPP, September.
 France, North and South, C. Julian, RPar, September 15.
 French Revolution and the Jewish Question, J. Hocart, BU.
 Idealism, New French, Count de Soissons, Contem.
 Orthography, French, Evolution of, A. Renard, RRP, Oc-
 tober 1.
 Pacific, Colonies in the, J. Durand, RRP, September 15.
 Revolution, Political Clubs During the, J. W. Perrin,
 Chaut.
 Frederick the Great—II., W. O'C. Morris, USM.
 Froebel, Friedrich, Philosophy of, R. Eucken, Forum.
 Fulham Palace, England, Beatrice Creighton, AJ.
 Galveston Disaster, Lessons of the, W. J. McGee, NatGM.
 Galveston Storm, Experiences in the, C. Ousley, NatM.
 Germany, Commercial Supremacy of, P. de Rousiers, RPar,
 September 15.
 German Navy, Increase of the, L. Jadot, RPP, September.
 Geographic Society: Address of the President, NatGM.
 Geology, Recent Progress in, A. C. Lawson, IntM.
 Georgia Dumb Act of 1850, F. D. Peabody, ALR.
 Gibraltar to Alexandria, Marie Jadin, Chaut.
 Goethe, Influence of Swedenborg Upon, C. R. Nugent, NC.
 Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von, Study of, Wern.
 Gold Dredging: How to Make It Pay, A. W. Robinson, CasM.
 Golf in America, Rise of, P. Collier, AMRR.
 Gospel, Fifth, Discovery of a, Dr. La Touche-Treville, RRP,
 September 15.
 Gospel of Luke, Purpose and Plan of the, E. D. Burton, Bib.
 Great Britain: see also Transvaal.
 American Feeling Toward England, P. A. Bruce, West.
 Army, Compulsory Service in the, G. N. Bankes, USM.
 Army Reform, J. M. Creed, Contem.; F. W. Tugman, West.
 British Czar: The General Elector, W. T. Stead, RRL.
 British Empire, Growth of, from 1800 to 1900, J. H. School-
 ing, PMM.
 Burden of Empire, W. S. Lilly, Fort.
 Commerce, British, Decline of, B. Taylor, NAR.
 Education and Sectarian Interference, J. Downman, West.
 England's Military Prestige Abroad, J. W. Gambier Fort.
 Englishman: Why He Succeeds, W. H. Fitchett, RRM,
 August.
 General Election, British, Cath; H. W. Lucy, Forum.
 Imperialism, Paradox of, MonR.
 Jingo, Development of the, Frances H. Freshfield, West.
 Military Policy of the Country, Black.
 Naval Officers, War Training of, C. Bellairs, MonR.
 Navy, Electors and the, C. McL. McHardy, NatR.
 Parable of the General Election, W. T. Stead, RRL.
 Parliament, Dissolution of, Black.
 Parties and Principles, MonR.
 Petitions and Electioneering Pledges, Sophia Palmer,
 NineC.
 Public Schools and the Public Services, J. C. Tarver, Fort.
 Public Service, Reform in the, A. West, NineC.
 Revolution of Force, How England Averted a, B. O.
 Flower, Arena.
 Ritualism and the Election, Lady Wimborne, NineC.
 Russia? Why Not a Treaty with, Fort.
 Wage-Earners and the War, E. B. Husband, West.
 Workingman and the War Chancery, F. Greenwood, NineC.
 Greek Religion and Mythology, P. Carus, OC.
 Guiana Boundary, G. L. Burr, AHR.
 Gun Factory, Visit to an English, D. T. Timins, Cass.
 Gun, Most Powerful, in the World, F. Heath, Jr., Home.
 Hamadryad and Her Kinsfolk, W. C. Lawton, SR.
 Hamlin, President Cyrus, A. F. Schauffler, MisR; MisR.
 Hanna, Marcus A., W. M. Clemens, Home.
 Hare, Belgian—Past, Present, and Future, E. H. Glover, Int.
 Hawaii First—II., E. S. Goodhue, AngA.
 Heaven and Earth, Contrasts Between, H. Vrooman, NC.
 Hebrew, Modern, Status of the: I., The Secret of His Im-
 mortality, E. S. Brudno; II., Jewish Contributions to
 Science, The Future of the Jews, A. K. Glover, Arena.

- Heraldry, Elizabeth C. Neff, A Mon. M.
 Holy Spirit as Essential to Effective Gospel Preaching, F. B. Meyer, Hom.
 Homestead Legislation, J. B. Sanborn, AHR.
 Horse, Ancestry of the, F. A. Lucas, McCl.
 Horses: Development of the American Trotter, N. A. Cole, O.
 Hospitals, Dispensaries, and Nursing, H. M. Hurd, Char.
 Hunting Methods in Russia, W. Gerrare, O.
 Hurricane, West Indian, of September 1-12, 1900, E. B. Garrott, NatGM.
 Hygiene and Demography, International Congress of, San.
 Ice-Crushers on the Great Lakes, W. Fawcett, Pear.
 Imagination, Competence of, to Serve the Truth, E. H. Johnson, BSac.
 Immigrants, Our, and Ourselves, Kate H. Claghorn, Atlant.
 Immigration of Oriental Peoples, F. M. Todd, Ains.
 Imperialism, Menace of: I., The Antithesis of True Expansion, E. V. Long; II., Its Strength and Weakness, A. H. Coggins; III., Its Place in Historic Evolution, G. W. Kenney, Arena.
 Indian Baskets, The Making of, Helen M. Carpenter, Cos.
 Indians, Education of, Elaine G. Eastman, Arena.
 Indigo Planting in India, M. N. MacDonald, Pear.
 Industrial Supremacy, Struggle for, B. Taylor, Fort.
 Industrial Tide: Is It on the Turn? W. R. Lawson, BankL.
 Injuries, Mechanical Treatment for, R. P. Lambert, Pear.
 Inquiry, Curbing of the Spirit of, C. Sterne, OC.
 Insurance, Burglary, BankL.
 International Liability for Mob Injuries, F. J. R. Mitchell, ALR.
 Inventors, Psychology of, G. Caye, RRP, October 1.
 Invertebrates, North-American—XIII., G. H. Parker, A Nat., September.
 Investor's Opportunity in England, W. R. Lawson, NatR.
 Ireland, Month in, S. Gwynn, Black.
 Irish Life, More Humors of, Corn.
 Iron-Trade Development, National Ideals in, H. J. Skelton, Eng.
 Irrigation in the Arid West, E. Mead, Out.
 Italy:
 Humbert I., Constitutional Character of the Reign of, D. Zanichelli, NA, September 1.
 Humbert, King, Recollections of, Count di Ronzaglie, Deut.
 Italy and Her Makers, W. Littlefield, Mun.
 Italy, The New, S. Cortesi, IntM.
 King, After the Death of the, E. Vidari, NA, September 1.
 Social Life in Italy, Mac.
 Vatican and Quirinal, R. Bagot, NatR.
 Jachin and Boaz, G. St. Clair, West.
 Jacksnipe: When They Come Out of the North, H. S. Canfield, O.
 Jamaica: Does It Contain a Lesson in Colonial Government? J. Moritz, AMRR.
 Japan, Misunderstood, Y. Ozaki, NAR.
 Japan, Old, Awheel in the Heart of, T. P. Terry, O.
 Jeanne d'Arc, Home of, C. Johnson, FrL.
 Jesus: The Title "The Son of Man," M. G. Evans, BSac.
 Jesus, Resurrection of, P. Schwartzkopff, Mon.
 Jesus, Story of, C. Howard, LHJ.
 Jesus with the Doctors, R. B. Peery, Luth.
 Jockeys, The Prince of Wales', A. F. Meyrick, Str.
 Kansas, Buford Expedition to, W. L. Fleming, AHR.
 Kentucky, Court of Appeals of—IV., J. C. Doolan, GBag.
 Kindergarten, Ethical and Religious Import of the, W. L. Bryant, KindR.
 Kindergarten, Hygiene and Emergencies of the, E. F. Smith, Kind.
 Kindergarten in Cienfuegos, Rita W. Hines, Kind.
 Kindergarten in the South, P. P. Claxton, Kind; KindR.
 Kindergarten, Story in the, Olive McHenry, KindR.
 Klondike: Canadian Royalty in the Yukon—II., W. H. Lynch, AngA.
 Klondike, Impressions of the, C. C. Osborne, Mac.
 Labor: Anti-Sweating Legislation in Victoria, J. Hoatson, West.
 Labor Organizations in France, L. Banneux, RGen.
 Lamb, Charles, as Critic and Essayist, E. W. Bowen, MRN.
 Leather-Dressers of Annanay, France, A. Tourgee, Mod.
 Lee, Robert E., Recollections of—III., R. E. Lee, Jr., FrL.
 Lenox, Massachusetts: The Church on the Hilltop, F. Lynch, NENG.
 Lens, Great, Casting a, R. S. Baker, McCl.
 Levees, Appropriations for, G. E. Mitchell, IA.
 Literary Evolution, Phenomena of, J. London, Bkman.
 Literature: An American Impression of the New Grub Street, E. Fawcett, Bkman.
 Literature: An Early Romanticist, Clara Thomson, Corn.
 Literature, Backwoods Life in, P. Stauffer, RRP, October 1.
 Literature, French, Critical Studies in, F. M. Warren, Chaut.
 Literature, Nineteenth Century, B. W. Wells, BB.
 Literature of Europe, F. Brunetière, RDM, September 15.
 Logging-Camp, Work of a, S. Allis, Over, September.
 London, East, Types, W. Besant, Cent.
 London, Great Railway Stations of, D. T. Timins, Cass.
 London Parks, Rustic Spots in, M. R. Roberts, Cass.
- London, where Poor Ladies Can Live in, Frances H. Low, LeisH.
 Louisa, Queen, Girlhood of, A. W. Ward, Corn.
 Luther and the Augsburg Confession, J. W. Richard, Luth.
 Machine-Shop, Organization of the—V., H. Diemer, Eng.
 Magpies, Experiences with, E. H. Barker, LeisH.
 Maize Kitchen at Paris, J. S. Crawford, Forum.
 Man, Breed of, H. H. Almond, NineC.
 Marco Polo's Adventures, E. S. Holden, O.
 Martineau, James, Dial, October 1, A. W. Jackson, NAR.
 Martineau, James, Some Letters of, Atlant.
 Mason, Jeremiah, GBag.
 Mason, William, Reminiscences of—IV., Cent.
 Master, Life of the—X., Jesus Before the Council: Before Pontius Pilate, J. Watson, McCl.
 Matter, Kingdom of, M. Maeterlinck, Fort.
 Medical Ethics, R. B. Carter, IJE.
 Medicine, Preventive, True Aim of, A. Shadwell, Contem.
 Memory, Interpolation in, M. Hartog, Contem.
 Mental Energy, E. Atkinson, PopS.
 Mental Healing, J. Bois, RRP, October 1.
 Meshed, Holy City of, J. A. Lee, WWM.
 Mexico, Imperial Régimes in—III., H. M. Skinner, Int.
 Michigan, University of, Mary L. Hinsdale, Mod.
 Mind, Architecture of the, Dial, October 1.
 Missions:
 Ahmednagar Theological Seminary, R. A. Hume, Mish.
 Amatongaland, British, W. S. Walton, MisR.
 China, Missionary Question in, C. Denby, MisR.
 China, Mysteries of God's Providence in, A. T. Pierson, MisR.
 Government Protection of Missions, J. T. Gracey, MisR.
 Java, Results of Missions in, J. Warneck, MisR.
 Livingstone Memorials, J. Johnston, MisR.
 Manchuria, Christianity in, J. Ross, MisR.
 Medical Missionary Work, L. B. Salmans, MisR.
 Monaco and its Prince, H. K. Underwood, Mod.
 Mongols, Modern, F. L. Oswald, PopS.
 Montenegro—The Benjamin of Europe, Helen Zimmern, LeisH.
 Morgan, Sir Henry, and His Buccaneers, C. T. Brady, McCl.
 Mosquito, Popular Description of the, R. W. Shufeldt, Pear.
 Musical Renaissance of Northern New England, Lillian T. Bryant, NatM.
 Music, Dramatic, in Russ'a, M. Delines, BU.
 Music, Mysterious, G. G. Thomas, Cham.
 Mysteries, Greek—A Preparation for Christianity, P. Carus, Mon.
 National Ideals, G. Murray, IJE.
 Nations, Rivalry of: World Politics of To-day—I.—IV., E. A. Start, Chaut.
 Naval Officers, Education of, USM.
 Naval Officers, War-Training of British, C. Bellairs, MonR.
 Navy, Our, Fifty Years from Now, W. E. Chandler, Cos.
 Navy: The Kentucky and the Kearsarge, F. Chester, Mun.
 Needlecraft, American, Plea for, Ada Sterling, Atlant.
 Negro Problem in the South, O. W. Underwood, Forum.
 Nerves and Morals, P. Tyner, Mind.
 Nervous System, Narcotic Poisons and the, B. H. Boyd, Int.
 New Netherland, English and Dutch Towns of, A. E. McKinley, AHR.
 New Zealand, Affairs in, J. Christie, Atlant.
 Nietzsche, Friedrich, O. Crawford, NineC; T. de Wyzewa, RDM, October 1.
 Nietzsche and His Philosophy, S. Zeisler, Dial, October 1.
 Nietzsche and the Idealist Revival, P. S. Reinsch, Mod.
 Nietzsche at Turin, NA, September 16.
 Nietzsche, France and Germany as Judged by, H. Lichtenberger, RPar, October 1.
 Nietzsche, Tolstoi and, Ethics of, M. Adams, IJE.
 Oberammergau, Passion Play at, G. Franciosi; NA, September 16.
 Opera in English, E. Singleton, Bkman; R. Aldrich, Crit.
 "Orthodoxy," Russian, R. Parsons, ACQR.
 Oxford Undergraduate, H. Brodrick, NatR.
 Palmer, Mrs. Potter, Caroline Kirkland, Ains.
 Paraguay, South America, Cham.
 Paris, American Colony in, W. G. Robinson, Cos.
 Paris Exposition:
 Arms, Ancient, M. Maindron, RDM, October 1.
 Belgium at the Exposition, F. Bourneau, RGen.
 British Royal Pavilion, MA.
 Paris Exposition, H. de Varigny, BU; J. Horner, CasM.
 Russia at the Exposition, Nou, September 15.
 Social Economics in the Exposition, W. H. Tolman, Out.
 Pastores, City, F. M. Porch, Luth.
 Patterson, Elizabeth, and Jerome Bonaparte, W. Perrine, LHJ.
 Patti, Adelina, at Home, YW.
 Petrified Forest of Arizona, C. Howard, Pear.
 Philadelphia's Election Frauds, C. R. Woodruff, Arena.
 Philip, Admiral John W., Extracts from Diary of, FrL.
 Philippines: Our Agreement with the Sultan of Sulu, M. Wilcox, Forum.
 Philippines, Bryan Policy for the, E. M. Shepard, AMRR.
 Philosophy, Modern, History of, P. Shorey, Dial, October 1.

Photography:

Backgrounds, Making and Painting, J. A. Randall, WPM.
 Business Methods in Photography, J. A. Tennant, WPM.
 Carbon Printing, Practice in, E. Vogel, APB.
 Copyright and the American Photographer, Phot.
 Expression in Portraiture, APR.
 Intensification and Toleration, J. R. Coryell, Phot.
 Lantern-Slide Making, P. Adamson, Phot.
 Lighting and the Hands in Portraiture, F. Paulus, WPM.
 Machinery, Photographing, WPM.
 Picture Possibilities of Photography, Laura M. Adams, Over, September.
 Silver Chloride, Action of Light on, R. Hitchcock, Phot.
 Silver Paper, Plain Surface, T. J. Herrick, WPM.
 Surveying, Photography in, J. A. Flemer, APB.
 Vignette, The, G. E. Loring, WPM.
Physical Training in Character-Building, Lucia G. Barber, Mind.
 "Pickwick Papers," The Writing of, H. Hall, BB.
 Pins, Class, for School and College, Sarah MacConnell, LHJ.
 Plagiarism, Real and Apparent—II., B. Samuel, Bkman.
 Poetry : Wanted—A New War Poet, Mrs. H. Birchenough, NineC.
 Polar Regions, Life and Living Beings in the, A. Dastre, RDM, October 1.
 Political Affairs in the United States: see also Expansion, Imperialism, Trusts.
 American Presidential Campaign, J. Boyle, NineC.
 Anti-Imperialist Position, E. Winslow, NAR.
 Blunder of Electing Bryan, Cost of the, T. C. Platt, NAR.
 Bryan as a Soldier, C. F. Beck, Arena.
 Bryan's Financial Policy: A Democratic View, C. B. Spahr, AMRR.
 Bryan's Financial Policy: A Republican View, G. E. Roberts, AMRR.
 Democratic Party, Significance of the, A. D. Morse, IntM.
 Duty, Our, in the Presidential Election, A. Carnegie, NAR.
 First Voter, Interest of the, R. Croker, NAR.
 Gold Democrat, Duty of the, J. H. Eckels, NAR.
 Issues of the Campaign, C. E. Smith, NAR; A. E. Stevenson, NAR.
 Militarism or Manhood? J. D. Miller, Arena.
 Paramount Issues of the Campaign, J. P. Dolliver, Forum; W. M. Stewart, NAR.
 Party Government in the United States, G. F. Hoar, IntM.
 Presidential Campaign, J.-P. des Noyers, RDM, October 1.
 Presidential Electors, Choice of, B. Winchester, ALR.
 President McKinley or President Bryan? G. F. Hoar, NAR.
 Sound-Money Democrats, Support of Mr. Bryan by, E. M. Shepard, NAR.
 Southern Opposition to Imperialism, B. R. Tillman, NAR.
 Stevenson, Adlai E., J. S. Ewing, AMRR.
 Strategy of National Campaigns, McCl.
 Tammany Hall, H. Davis, Mun.
 Polo, Glorious Sport of, R. Newton, Jr., Mun.
 Poor, Relief and Care of the—VI., E. T. Devine, Char.
 Pope, Nomination of the, Nou, September 15.
 Porto Rico, Education in, V. S. Clark, Forum.
 Positivist Movement, Dr. Cancalon, RRP, September 15.
 Poultry-Breeding in the United States, H. S. Babcock, O.
 Preachers, A Few Don'ts for, A. Pollok, Hom.
 Prices, Influence of Money on, R. Laburthe, RPP, September.
 Princesses of Europe, YW.
 Printing, Modern, Vale Press and, H. C. Marillier, PMM.
 Prison, Dartmoor, England, A. Griffiths, PMM.
 Prisoners, Reformation of, Maud B. Booth, MisR.
 Privateer, Fighting a, H. Senior, Corn.
 Prophet an Apostle of Progress, B. O. Flower, Mind.
 Psalms, Inscriptions of the, C. Martin, PRR.
 Psychology and Therapeutics, Dr. Buttersack, Deut.
 Quivera, History and Legends of—II., E. E. Blackman, AngA.
 Railway, "Double-Tracking" a, H. I. Cleveland, NatM.
 Railway, Inspection of a, C. Childe, Cos.
 Railways, Government Ownership of, R. L. Richardson, Can.
 Reading, Question of, B. Winchester, SR.
 "Reign of Law," Review of, J. J. Tigert, MRN.
 Religion and National Life, H. M. Scott, PRR.
 Religion : A Reply to "The Final Seal of Authority," A. Burnett, West.
 Religion, Authority in, R. E. Day, Cath.
 Religion : The Appeal to Reason, J. E. Sagebeer, PSac.
 Religion, Truth-Seeking in Matters of, Eliza Ritchie, IJE.
 Resurrection of the Lord Jesus, H. G. Weston, BSac.
 Revelation, Principle of Adaptation in, G. S. Rollins, Bib.
 Riding to Hounds, F. L. W. Wedge, Bad.
 Rockies, Adventures in the, W. Sparks, Ains.
 Roman Catholic Church :
 Anglo-Saxonism and Catholic Progress, B. J. Clinch, ACQR.
 Australia, Roman Catholic Hierarchy in, NatR.
 Church and Material Progress, R. F. Clarke, ACQR.
 England, Catholic Church in, Father Cuthbert, Cath.
 Greek Ordinal in the 17th Century, F. A. Gasquet, ACQR.
 Kenricks, The Archbishop, J. J. O'Shea, ACQR.
 Missionaries from France and Germany, T. J. Shaham, Cath.

Roman Catholic Citizens and Constitutional Rights, T. H. Malone, NAR.
 Virgins Consecrated to God, J. A. Campbell, ACQR.
 Roosevelt, the Representative American, G. B. Chandler, AngA.
 Roosevelt, Theodore, Sr., J. A. Riis, Out.
 "Rubiyat," Hebrew, G. D. Sparks, SR.
 Rural Life, Study of, K. L. Butterfield, Chaut.
 Ruskin, John, as an Art Critic, C. H. Moore, Atlant.
 Russell, Lord, of Killowen, G. McDermot, ACQR; W. T. Stead, AMRR; E. Dicey, Fort.
 Russia :
 Army, Organization of the, W. C. Rivers, Cos.
 China and Russia, J. Quincy, NAR.
 Count Lamsdorff's First Failure, Fort.
 Driving in Russia, T. Morton, Pear.
 Expansion of Russia, A. Rambaud, IntM.
 Greek Church of Russia, B. Meakin, MisR.
 Rural Life in Russia, Leish.
 Russian Policy, Secret Springs of, Contem.
 Russia of To-day, H. Norman, Scrib.
 Siberian Exile System, N. M. Babad, FrL.
 Rye, England, G. F. Scott, Art, September.
 Sahara, Prehistoric, A. Chippault, RRP, September 15.
 St. Clair, General Arthur, Arda B. Borison, AMonM.
 St. Francis of Assisi, Father Cuthbert, ACQR.
 "Sartor Resartus," Blumine of, E. S. Nadal, Bkman.
 Saturnalia and Kindred Festivals, J. G. Frazer, Fort.
 Savonarola and Jesus: A Comparison, J. W. Buckingham, BSac.
 Science : Address of the President Before the British Association, W. Turner, PopS.
 Scotland : A Harvest Home in Thrums, M. E. L. Addis, Lipp.
 Scotland, Ecclesiastical Situation in, Black.
 Scottish Reformation—III., D. M. Barrett, ACQR.
 Sea-Power, Study of, D. Bonamico, JMSI.
 Servant, Indented, Diary of an, 1773-76, AHR.
 Shakespeare, Furness's Edition of, W. J. Rolfe, Crit.
 Shakespeare's Sonnets in French, Bkman.
 Shakespeare, Staging of, A. Dillon, West.
 Shakespeare's Time, Domestic Life of—II., S. Lanier, Mod.
 Shakespeare, William—XII., H. W. Mabie, Out.
 Sharks, Big, as Game, C. F. Holder, O.
 Sherman-Johnston Convention, J. D. Cox, Scrib.
 Slave, American, J. S. Metcalfe, Pear.
 Slaver, Capture of a, J. T. Wood, Atlant.
 Slavery, Historical Origin of, A. Loria, SR.
 Slaves, Bond, Mary S. Peckin, AMonM.
 Slave-Trade in America—III., J. R. Spears, Scrib.
 Sleep, Hygiene of, C. Edson, Cos.
 Socialism and Anarchism, G. Langtoft, Fort.
 Socialistic Idea of the State, P. Dramas, RSoC, September.
 Somaliland, Big-Game Trip to, E. Lechmere, WWM.
 Solferino, Battle of, S. Crane, Lipp.
 Southern Homes, Romances of—II., Mrs. T. Horton, LHJ.
 South, Old, Literature and Life in the, M. Thompson, MRN.
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[All the articles in the leading reviews are indexed, but only the more important articles in the other magazines.]

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|---------|---|---------|--|-----------------------------|--|
| Ains. | Ainslee's Magazine, N. Y. | EdR. | Educational Review, N. Y. | NineC. | Nineteenth Century, London. |
| ACQR. | American Catholic Quarterly Review, Phila. | Eng. | Engineering Magazine, N. Y. | North American Review, N.Y. | |
| AHR. | American Historical Review, N. Y. | EM. | España Moderna, Madrid. | Nou. | Nouvelle Revue, Paris. |
| AJS. | American Journal of Sociology, Chicago. | Fort. | Fortnightly Review, London. | OC. | Nuova Antologia, Rome. |
| AJT. | American Journal of Theology, Chicago. | Forum. | Forum, N. Y. | O. | Open Court, Chicago. |
| ALR. | American Law Review, St. Louis. | FrL. | Frank Leslie's Monthly, N. Y. | Out. | Outing, N. Y. |
| AMonM. | American Monthly Magazine, Washington, D. C. | Gent. | Gentleman's Magazine, London. | Over. | Overland Monthly, San Francisco. |
| AMRR. | American Monthly Review of Reviews, N. Y. | GBag. | Green Bag, Boston. | PMM. | Pall Mall Magazine, London. |
| ANat. | American Naturalist, Boston. | Gunt. | Gunton's Magazine, N. Y. | Pear. | Pearson's Magazine, N. Y. |
| AngA. | Anglo-American Magazine, N. Y. | Harp. | Harper's Magazine, N. Y. | Phil. | Philosophical Review, N. Y. |
| Annals. | Annals of the American Academy of Pol. and Soc. Science, Phila. | Hart. | Hartford Seminary Record, Hartford, Conn. | PhoT. | Photographic Times, N. Y. |
| APB. | Anthony's Photographic Bulletin, N. Y. | Home. | Home Magazine, N. Y. | PL. | Poet-Lore, Boston. |
| Arch. | Architectural Record, N. Y. | Hom. | Homiletic Review, N. Y. | PSQ. | Political Science Quarterly, Boston. |
| Arena. | Arena, N. Y. | HumN. | Humanité Nouvelle, Paris. | PopA. | Popular Astronomy, Northfield, Minn. |
| AA. | Art Amateur, N. Y. | Int. | International, Chicago. | PopS. | Popular Science Monthly, N. Y. |
| AE. | Art Education, N. Y. | IJE. | International Journal of Ethics, Phila. | PRR. | Presbyterian and Reformed Review, Phila. |
| AI. | Art Interchange, N. Y. | IntM. | International Monthly, N. Y. | PQ. | Presbyterian Quarterly, Charlotte, N. C. |
| AJ. | Art Journal, London. | IntS. | International Studio, N. Y. | QEcon. | Quarterly Journal of Economics, Boston. |
| Art. | Artist, London. | IA. | Irrigation Age, Chicago. | QR. | Quarterly Review, London. |
| Atlant. | Atlantic Monthly, Boston. | JMSI. | Journal of the Military Service Institution, Governor's Island, N. Y. H. | RasN. | Rassegna Nazionale, Florence. |
| Bad. | Badminton, London. | JPEcon. | Journal of Political Economy, Chicago. | Record. | Record of Christian Work, East Northfield, Mass. |
| BankL. | Bankers' Magazine, London. | Kind. | Kindergarten Magazine, Chicago. | RefS. | Réforme Sociale, Paris. |
| BankNY | Bankers' Magazine, N. Y. | KindR. | Kindergarten Review, Springfield, Mass. | RRL. | Review of Reviews, London. |
| Bib. | Biblical World, Chicago. | LHJ. | Ladies' Home Journal, Phila. | RWM. | Review of Reviews, Melbourne. |
| BSac. | Bibliotheca Sacra, Oberlin, O. | LeishH. | Leisure Hour, London. | RDM. | Revue des Deux Mondes, Paris. |
| BU. | Bibliothèque Universelle, Lausanne. | Lipp. | Lippincott's Magazine, Phila. | RDP. | Revue du Droit Public, Paris. |
| Black. | Blackwood's Magazine, Edinburgh. | LQ. | London Quarterly Review, London. | RG. | Revue Générale, Brussels. |
| BB. | Book Buyer, N. Y. | Long. | Longman's Magazine, London. | RPar. | Revue de Paris, Paris. |
| Bkman. | Bookman, N. Y. | Luth. | Lutheran Quarterly, Gettysburg, Pa. | RPP. | Revue Politique et Parlementaire, Paris. |
| BP. | Brush and Pencil, Chicago. | McCl. | McClure's Magazine, N. Y. | RRP. | Revue des Revues, Paris. |
| Can. | Canadian Magazine, Toronto. | Mac. | Macmillan's Magazine, London. | RSoc. | Revue Socialiste, Paris. |
| Cass. | Cassell's Magazine, London. | MA. | Magazine of Art, London. | RPL. | Rivista Politica e Letteraria, Rome. |
| CasM. | Cassier's Magazine, N. Y. | MRN. | Methodist Review, Nashville. | Ros. | Rosary, Somerset, Ohio. |
| Cath. | Catholic World, N. Y. | MRN. | Methodist Review, N. Y. | San. | Sanitarian, N. Y. |
| Cent. | Century Magazine, N. Y. | Mind. | Mind, N. Y. | School. | School Review, Chicago. |
| Cham. | Chambers's Journal, Edinburgh. | MisH. | Missionary Herald, Boston. | Scrib. | Scribner's Magazine, N. Y. |
| Char. | Charities Review, N. Y. | MisR. | Missionary Review, N. Y. | SR. | Sewanee Review, N. Y. |
| Chant. | Chautauquan, Cleveland, O. | Mod. | Modern Culture, Cleveland, O. | Str. | Strand Magazine, London. |
| Cons. | Conservative Review, Washington. | Mon. | Monist, Chicago. | Sun. | Sunday Magazine, London. |
| Contem. | Contemporary Review, London. | MonR. | Monthly Review, N. Y. | Temp. | Temple Bar, London. |
| Corn. | Cornhill, London. | MunA. | Municipal Affairs, N. Y. | USM. | United Service Magazine, London. |
| Cos. | Cosmopolitan, N. Y. | MunA. | Munsey's Magazine, N. Y. | West. | Westminster Review, London. |
| Crit. | Critic, N. Y. | Mus. | Music, Chicago. | Wern. | Werner's Magazine, N. Y. |
| Deut. | Deutsche Revue, Stuttgart. | NatGM. | National Geographic Magazine, Washington, D. C. | WWM. | Wide World Magazine, London. |
| Dial. | Dial, Chicago. | NatM. | National Magazine, Boston. | WPM. | Wilson's Photographic Magazine, N. Y. |
| Dub. | Dublin Review, Dublin. | NatR. | National Review, London. | Yale. | Yale Review, New Haven. |
| Edin. | Edinburgh Review, London. | NC. | New-Church Review, Boston. | YM. | Young Man, London. |
| Ed. | Education, Boston. | NEng. | New England Magazine, Boston. | YW. | Young Woman, London. |
| | | NIM. | New Illustrated Magazine, London. | | |
| | | NW. | New World, Boston. | | |